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Journal of Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and
Training Institute (SCSTRI) Bhubaneswar Orissa India

Editorial

The present combined volume of *Adivasi* contains nine research papers on various aspects of Tribal Society, Culture and Development.

- The first paper, "*Tribal Development: Challenges and Opportunities*" attempts to analyze critically the tribal development strategies and programmes during different plan periods. Besides, it focuses on the challenges and opportunities with regard to implementation of tribal development schemes with suggestions to make the programmes more effective.
- The second paper, "*The Dongria Kondh Youth Dormitory : An Agent of Development*" highlights the existence, growth and development of youth dormitories in a historical perspective among the tribal societies with specific focus on Dongria Kondh dormitory. Further, the paper elaborately discusses about the origin, structure, function, etc. of Dongria Kondh girls' dormitory and its utility in development intervention.
- The next paper, "*Impact of Special Micro Project on the Livelihood of Kutia Kondhs*" is an evaluative study conducted among the Kutia Kondh of KKDA, Lanjigarh. The paper highlights the development intervention of the Micro Project and impact of different schemes on the beneficiaries with suggestions for more effective implementation of the programmes.
- The next paper, "*Scheduled Tribe and Forgotten Kings: Ethnohistory of the Joria Paraja in the erstwhile Nandapur-Jeyapore Kingdom*" analyses the ethno-history of the community and their relationship with the erstwhile Nandapur- Jeyapore Kingdom.
- The fifth paper, "*Dongria Kondh Labour Co-operatives: Their Relevance in the Development Process*," deals with the structure, function and types of Labour Co-operatives prevalent among the community. Further, the paper discusses about the advantages of utilizing the institution of Labour Co-operatives in the process of development.
- The next paper, "*Lanjla Saura Mode of Subsistence: Change and Development*" describes the impact of various income generating and infrastructure development schemes on the target group implemented by the Micro Project.

- The seventh paper, "*Development of Primitive Tribal Groups in Orissa: An Evaluation*" analyses the receipt and expenditure pattern of LSDA, Puttasang relating to a specific period. Besides, enumerating the major lacuna the paper contains some useful recommendations.
- The next article, "*Kandha Tribe of Orissa: An Ecological Perspective*" gives a brief account of the socio-cultural, religious and economic aspects of the Kandha in an ecological perspective.
- The last article, "*Modern Drug Development Programme: Leads from Ethno-Phytotherapy as Precursors*" provides insight about the importance of medicinal plants in the Indian Materia Medica and their application and utility in the modern drug development programmes.

It is hoped that these articles will be of much help to the researchers, development functionaries, academicians and to the general public interested in conducting research and acquiring knowledge in tribal life, culture and development.

Here, I regret to inform our esteemed paper contributors and valued readers that due to some unavoidable and unforeseen circumstances the publication of some issues could not be made. However, this organization has already taken a firm decision to bring out two volumes every year.

I honestly thank the paper contributors for their painstaking effort in preparing the articles for the journal, *ADIVASI*.

Dated, the 15th December, 2004
Bhubaneswar

Gopinath Mohanty
EDITOR

Tribal Development: Challenges and Opportunities

P.K.Nayak

"It is now time to recover a sense of reality...Crutches, like those offered by science, are not necessary when it is possible to walk with one's own feet, on one's own path, in order to dream one's own dreams. Not the borrowed ones of development."

Gustavo Esteva, 1997, p.31

Tribal development : 'harsh light and soft focus'

Professionals, practitioners and pro-people public engaged in tribal development discourse bring to light the problems and issues of tribal development and express the opinion that the development efforts over the last several decades have gone haywire; that the target group has not been able to reap the fruits, especially the most vulnerable among them. Quite often they lament that, had the huge sum of money that had gone into the development projects and programmes been distributed among the tribal people, it would have brought them greater benefit. This might sound like a soft option, an easy alternative; none-the-less the message is very clear: In proportion to the amount of time, energy and money that has been spent on tribal development, the achievements in real terms have been far from satisfactory. One would like to ask, "Why is it so?" Attempting to answer this question, persons responsible at various levels and contexts engage in mudslinging, and in being critical of each other, each disbelieving the other, putting the blame on the other. The policy makers and planners squarely blame the implementers at ransom and the implementers on their part, the target group. On the one hand, the political bosses, in most cases, claim that they cannot rely on the bureaucracy's efficiency; the bureaucrats, for their part, implicitly express their inability to deliver the goods due to wheeling and dealing of their political masters. In the same way, the various institutions involved in the development process, from Constitutional Bodies, to Planning Commission to Central Ministry to State Departments to Tribal Development Agencies to the three tier Panchayati Raj Institutions find fault with one another. What is most vexing is that the field functionaries and their supervising authorities resignedly attribute development failures to the tribal people themselves, their society and culture. All that one can infer from such trajectory of affairs is that a perspective is missing; what is also missing is comprehension, conceptualization and contemplation of 'what tribal development is' in real and concrete terms. Hard labour is put into developing the tribal people. It seems as if humanistic and scientific approaches are fraught with danger. A rounded view of 'tribal development' is often sought as an answer to questions of the failures of development efforts. Limiting 'tribal development' to achievement of target, both financial and physical, is like kick starting in reverse gear. We need to aim at reaching the goal. Coordinating target and goal at each of the phases of tribal development process putting the people first can best serve the purpose of the tribal people. 'Development' or 'no development' matters little as long as people, their culture, have not been respected and the potential in them has not been harnessed. Empathy for the tribal people, appreciation of their culture and admiration for their ingenuity count much more than what the country does for them. These basic premises have their bearings on tribal development. Time is ripe now to deliberate on 'what tribal development is not'.

Tribal development is being pursued under Income Generating Schemes (IGS) and Infrastructure Development Schemes (IDS). The outcome of these schemes, which are being implemented every year, neither benefit the poor tribal nor do they add to their growth and development to a desired degree. In many respects, people are where as they were decades ago. Their economic conditions have not improved. Rather, the people have fallen into a poverty trap. But the human development dimension, which involves harnessing their social and cultural potential, has so long remained an unrealized goal. Nehru's hope that tribal people should develop in consonance with their own genius has not been translated into action.

Five decades of tribal development seems to have become outdated and development ideas have grown obsolete. Doubts are being raised and uneasiness is mounting. It is time to dismantle the mental structure of the superior helping the inferior and jettison the defunct idea of tribal development. Reports have shown that development does not work; it is often unjust. Development as a particular cast of mind, which is hegemonic, needs to be abandoned. There is tremendous loss of diversity and an accompanying eclipse of variegated languages and customs. Development has crippled tribesmen's capacity for creative response to their future. Development strategies based on a top-down design have failed to reach their explicitly stated objectives. Development has undermined their confidence in themselves and their own culture. It converts participation into a manipulative trick to make people accept what the powerful want to impose on them. Development understood in these terms is an anomaly; pathological and even anti-natural behaviour. Any imaginative effort to conceive of a post-development era will have to overcome these constraints.

Tribal development Misconstrued

Failures of tribal development strategies are the failures of our appreciation of tribes, their cultures and societies. Our understanding of tribes so far has been couched in alien terms. We assume that tribes are aliens. The western bias haunts us to the extent that we are not prepared to admit there are striking parallels between Hindu caste India and the tribal India. That tribes and castes form a continuum is hardly translated into action. Rather, tribes are looked upon as beleaguered people having queer habits, strange beliefs, mysterious cults and unconventional chores, and therefore should be subjected to differential treatment. It is as if their development has little to do with our development or development of the nation. A critical look at what the tribes are, how they manifest and in which way they perform can help us in evolving appropriate economic development strategies and adopting effective development measures. Therefore, this paper aims to throw new light on our basic assumptions of tribes and dispel some of our misconceptions by way of revisiting tribes, and to reconsider tribal development and suggest a new direction.

Tribal development has remained an enigmatic issue, an unsolved problem. In spite of more than fifty years of efforts the goals of tribal development have not been achieved (Nayak:1999). One may attribute this to several causes. On the one



A Saora Musician



Saora Dance

hand development schemes fall short of the felt needs of the people and on the other do not take into consideration what impact they would have on the people, their society and culture. The risks involved are hardly diagnosed and debated. The traditional social institutions and the overall social potential of the people are very casually appropriated and often wrongly appraised and interpreted. The area development approach does not accommodate within it tribe-specific schemes nor does the tribe specific approach consider it important to conjoin in any way with area development. Development aid and help to the people are seen as short-term arrangements. Every time it appeared as if development schemes belonged to the experimental phase: toying with ideas, not dealing with the problem of development. The poorest of the poor and the most deprived are hardly covered under the development schemes. Rarely any social scientific rigour is adopted to objectively estimate the extent to which benefits went to the oft-called beneficiary families. Beneficiaries of any development scheme are expected to perform well in that scheme but what problems they encounter are not taken into account. The development agencies are often ill equipped and the personnel executing the schemes lack the expertise, the vision and proper understanding of the spirit behind the schemes. In the process, the officials deployed in the field act more as managers of distribution of development inputs and their control than 'development administrators' entrusted with certain responsibilities to see people develop.

Historically, the historical understanding of tribes places them as peripheral communities, which had little to do with the mainstream hierarchical caste Hindu culture. In status hierarchy, the tribes have been considered to be occupying a low position. Anthropological ethnographies following the colonial legacy have depicted tribal cultures as secluded, strange and curious. Thus the construction and projection of tribes as alien societies have haunted the minds of academics and administrators. Contrarily, that the tribes had a lot to do with the shaping of the caste Hindu society and culture has never been brought to light, and that in the historical process they were well connected to dominant centres of power has rarely been considered relevant. Comparison of cultural beliefs and practices of contemporary tribes and castes at a value neutral level, minus the Brahmanical superimposition can clearly demonstrate the parallels between the two, and can point out the gaps in our knowledge of tribes and castes. However, in the socio-political process of incorporation and exclusion the tribes have been marginalised. The State is called upon to ameliorate the problems of tribes, to change and develop them with a view to integrate them with the mainstream Indian society. Nevertheless, we have to bear in mind that they (the tribes) have been a part of us and we have been a part of them. The only difference is that we operate at different levels.

In several respects tribes represent our past and our ideal present. In terms of the basic cultural values many rural caste Hindu villages of Orissa (those having less Brahmanical influence) can be compared with tribal villages. To some degree, these rural caste Hindus are tribal-like. One would be amazed to know that two-three decades ago there was no beggary, no theft in tribal villages and people hardly told lies. The same was true in rural caste Hindu villages. In some non-coastal areas of Orissa, the tribes and caste Hindus alike value such virtues and continue to maintain such cultural outlook. The degree of reciprocity and

equality among the tribal people and high degree of democratic decision making in tribal societies are priceless possessions. In modern society today, with all the technical elaborations, these values can ... unattainable.

Tribes live in hills and forests. This does not mean, as some argue, that they have been pushed into the forest by force and marginalised and therefore lead a life of "jungle dwelling". On the contrary, hill and forest dwelling is an adaptation preferred by the tribesmen, for they are lovers of nature and attach high value to living close to nature parsimoniously appropriating the natural and biotic environment. For them, the quality of life rests on independent management of life and living within the limits of natural resources and maintaining a cultural identity with pride and dignity.

Although all tribes are characterized by possessing elementary social structures, each individual tribe has its own mechanical mode. Each has its distinctive features distinguishing from the other. In certain cases, an individual tribe may be seen as a clear-cut variation of the other. For example, in Orissa, the Dongria Kondh, Kuria Kondh, Malia Kondh, Pengo Kondh etc. are variations of the Kondh tribe. At the elementary level, these tribes organize themselves in different descent groups, known as clan groups, which guide their day to day socio-cultural and politico-economic life and living. Clan organization, clan groups and clan settlements are fundamental to conceptualizing the Kondh tribe and its variations. Clanship is one of the basic determinants of the Kondh tribe. Other tribes may have clans or clan-like structures, but the Kondh clanship is unique. In the same rigor, the varieties of tribes and their variations can be conceptualized on the basis of some of their respective fundamental attributes. Thus 'tribes' have to be seen comparatively in their plural forms, and their cultures have to be seen as 'adaptive strategies', 'need serving devices', and 'well founded designs'.

People in tribal societies maintain a subsistence mode of living. Tree produce and forest produce add to their subsistence economy. Contingent surplus is used for tiding over scarcity. At the time of need kinamen come to their rescue, whenever required they borrow from kinamen and remain tied to each other through kinship bond. Exchange of labour among them speaks of their mutual interdependence at the individual or group level. Exploitation of one tribal man by another is hardly conceivable. Interestingly, dependence on outsiders in any form is discouraged and often repudiated in close knit tribal societies.

Tribes are poor but not dependent. They are self-sufficient, and they function as self-contained units. What pinches them is deprivation, not poverty. Their land and territory, forest and fauna, and built-in social potential are always under threat of the usurpers from outside, be it the Hindu caste neighbours, moneylenders, contractors and, unwarrantedly officials, development agencies etc. Government plans and policies have not been tailored to their primary needs, that is, their rights over their natural resources and support and protection of their socio-cultural practices.

To appraise how to go about tribes empirically before we pronounce development measures for them an appraisal of tribal Orissa may be in order here.

The tribes in Orissa today can be conceptually divided into three broad ethno-social groups: the close knit tribes and tribal groups including the 'primitive tribal groups' living in dominant uni-ethnic settlements, the tribes living in multi-ethnic tribal/rural settings, and the urban, industrial and mines dwelling migrant tribal labourers. In spite of incursions of modernity and development interventions the first category of tribes and tribal groups continue to maintain their autonomy and have retained their traditional institutions and cultural standards to an appreciable degree. They are the indigenous varieties and acclaim 'sons of the soil' status. They can be conceptualized as the 'ideal types'. The second category of tribes have changed their life-style to a great extent in constant interaction with the dominant caste Hindu neighbours and who more or less behave like peasant castes. In the historical process, they have been partially integrated with the wider Hindu society and follow the latter's rule of law. At the same time they have retained their singular identity in a multi-ethnic context. This category of tribes therefore has been susceptible to land alienation, exploitation and bonded labour. The third category of tribes mostly shuttle between their native village and alien town and city and earn money wages. They appropriate the best of both the worlds. One can conceive of the fourth category of tribal men and women having white-collar jobs. Economically they are much better off but they face an identity crisis. They are neither acceptable to the hierarchical Hindu structure nor are they comfortable with their traditional social structure and cultural values.

Tribal development tribism

The British adopted the 'policy of isolation' for protection of their environment and culture, and seeing them grow on their own, and realized the effects of predatory activities of outside usurpers on their forest and other resources, and opposed application of common laws for tribals and non-tribals. They honoured local customs and considered judicious intervention only when felt inevitable. Thus the British adopted a policy of lightly administering the tribal areas under a single line administration. However, they had no policy of planned development (cf. Basu & Nijhawan, 1994).

After independence, the approach to tribal people and their development is reflected in the five principles enunciated by Nehru. These principles are: "1. Tribal people should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditions of Arts and Culture. 2. Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected. 3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. We should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory. 4. We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in rivalry to their own social and cultural institutions. 5. We should judge result, not by statistics or the amount spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved." Nehru had a genuine liking and respect for tribal culture. He appreciated their life style (cf. Hasan, 1992).

On account of the zeal for 'national integration' efforts were made to assimilate the tribals into the neighbouring Hindu societies. Anthropologists and

anthropologists contributed to that by hypothesizing that assimilation was part and parcel of the tribal culture and the tribals were imperfectly integrated classes of Hindu society (cf. Singh, 1994). The assimilation-integration approach as it was understood continued to prompt the political and administrative measures for the uplift of tribes. The Constitution makers insisted on safeguarding tribal rights and liberties. Reservation policies were framed for their benefit. They received a due share in the representative democracies, bodies. Specific provisions were enshrined in the Constitution. India's concern for tribal issues and problems is reflected in it.

The Central and State governments created the required machinery for tribal development administration. At the national level, the President of India is responsible for safeguarding the provisions enshrined in the Constitution. At the State level, the Governor and on his behalf the Chief Minister and other Ministers are responsible for the formulation and implementation of schemes in tribal areas of the State. Welfare Departments look after the interests of the tribals and advised by the Tribal Advisory Council (TAC) in tribal concentration States. Tribal Research Institutes (TRIs) are functioning. The IAs and TRIs help in the formulation of tribal policies and programmes. Besides, Parliamentary and Assembly Committees, Commissions and Committees from time to time assess and control the working of the welfare activities for the tribals (cf. Deshpandkar, 1980). The Planning Commission also appoints working groups, Task Forces and Committees to study the problems of tribals. However, that tribal administration should take into account the cultural patterns of the tribes while formulating and implementing programmes was deemed *une quanon*.

In recent decades the Government also sought the help of Voluntary Agencies for framing policies for tribal people and involved them in the implementation of the schemes for them. However, the ideology of these agencies has often little to do with tribal culture and problems. They hardly realise that their well intentioned activities will do more harm than good in terms of their socio-cultural life. Although Edwin's idea of 'National park' came to be known as the anthropological approach, the anthropologists believe in the ultimate integration of the tribal people into the mainstream of Indian national life. All development interventions among the tribes and in the tribal areas, the anthropologists hold, should proceed along the ethical and cultural foundations of the people. In no way can we claim superiority over them. Approach to tribal development from a "dominant-reformist" bias rather than from a cross-culturally scientific perspective, anthropologists would argue, would no doubt be counter-productive.

Contrasted with the earlier plan periods, the major thrust of the new strategy in the 3rd Five Year Plan under the rubric of Sub-Plan Strategy was to develop tribal areas and tribal people in an integrated way. Considering the geography, and demography, concentration of the tribal communities and the need for their faster development, initially Sub-divisions and later Blocks with more than 50% tribal population were treated as areas of tribal concentration, and the whole areas were covered under the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) approach. In order to handle the tribal population coming within the purview of Tribal Sub-Plan Strategy in an integrated and coordinated manner, the Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDPs), the Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) and

Clusters for pockets of tribal concentration, and special projects for primitive tribes were planned. A development Block has been taken as the smallest unit in the new programme. A group of Blocks under ITDP has been the basic unit for planning and development of the new tribal development programmes. Each constituent Block of the ITDP should formulate its Five Year Plan with annual phasing taking into account natural resource bases, occupations and skills of the people, infrastructure and human requirements. Project reports are prepared on the basis of the Block Plans, coordinated by the ITDPs get integrated at the State level into the Tribal Sub-Plan of the State. Thereby the needs, aspirations and priorities of the tribal areas get reflected in the TSP of a State (cf. Satyanarayan, 1990).

Boosting tribal economy assumed particular significance. Funding economic development programmes through the provision of State Plans and Central Assistance was geared up. The schemes of the sub-plan are contributed by the sectors/ departments of the State and Central Government, the tribal development department of the State functioning as a coordinating and nodal department. Family and community oriented schemes were drawn up to raise the socio-economic standard of individual families. Integrated schemes of infrastructure development like schools, public health centers etc. were taken up (cf. George & Sree Kumar, 1994).

In order to correct the imbalances in the development of different tribal groups, utmost attention was given to the primitive tribal groups. Special programmes were drawn and implemented for the extremely backward groups and these were financed 100% by the Government of India.

During the Sixth 5 year Plan a new dimension was added to the sub-plan approach. It was the poverty alleviation programme through which it was intended to raise a substantial number of families above the poverty line by implementing family-oriented schemes. Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and the new twenty-point programmes were added to the package of anti-poverty programmes under the sub-plan. Programmes of agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing, sericulture etc. were extensively implemented. To curb and control exploitation, land alienation, indebtedness and bonded labour were equally emphasized as important objectives of the sub-plan approach.

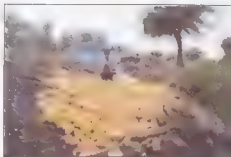
During the Seventh V Year Plan the objectives of the Sixth Plan were pursued and special attention was given to vulnerable groups like nomads, shifting cultivators, forest villagers, displaced families, migrant labourers and tribal women. For the improvement of quality of tribal environment and up-gradation of resources, plans and programmes were drawn on the basis of scientific survey. It was decided to cover all categories of tribal population within the ambit of the TSP: tribals living under ITDPs, MADA pockets and Clusters, PTGs, vulnerable groups in industrial area and tribals living outside the above area.

From the Seventh V Year Plan period emphasis has been laid on covering all sections of tribal communities and their specific situational problems including the problems of migration, effects of large projects on tribal areas, displacement

and rehabilitation. However, with the emergence of the INP concept the spirit and aim of tribal development strategies reached its peak around the onset of the Seventh Plan and after that it descended gradually, tending to tribal development a routine practice and the development institutions and agencies took tribal development in their moving at the same slow place along a horizontal axis rather than showing any vertical growth and progress. The planners and policy makers of course have spared no efforts in working out strategies for tribal development since the First V Year Plan and since then they have since the Fourth Plan and improving these strategies and revision of the short strings during plan revision from time to time. One could argue a pace with tribal development and compromise one's own time to change them but to develop the tribes along the lines of the indigenous needs would be understood at a financial level and technical endeavour at a socio-cultural plane imposing an undue on them without considering their interests will be detrimental for the people, a subjective activity and a national loss in the context of post modern development.

During the later part of the Fourth V Year Plan period many development activities in the field of horticulture, animal husbandry, agriculture, health and education including construction of roads, health centres and day schools were taken up in rapid succession in the tribal areas of Orissa. These were noticeable activities. In the Fifth Plan the activities were intensified and were carried forward up to nearly ninety per cent of the Seventh Plan. It was at the time making frequent trips to different tribal areas from north to south to west of Orissa. What impressed me most during my extensive field visits to tribal Orissa was a host of activities pursued by the field officers and staff of development agencies and the school teachers in residential tribal schools and host centres for and commitment to the tribal people. Added to that the high officials frequent supervision and monitoring of the activities and assessment of progress of work and the field situation were really quite noteworthy. Despite lapses and many shortcomings in the process of the execution of the development schemes what was quite satisfying to observe was that there was utmost discipline in the government machinery of development administration.

Orange, lemon, ginger and banana plantations in addition to high yielding rice cultivation in Rungt's valley areas of Laksh Nara concentration and orange, ginger, banana and pineapple plantations in the Narmada areas of Jharghat. Kharab concentration were very successful development schemes. Cultivation of vegetables in the hills was equally successful. The schemes benefited the tribal villages covered under the respective development agencies. People earned cash in addition to pursuing their traditional subsistence agriculture in the hill slopes. Cash crops and vegetables were also encouraged among the tribal villagers adept at plough cultivation in the plateau, plains and terraced fields. They were also encouraged to raise house animals. The tribal schools were well managed and had a congenial environment for the schooling of tribal children. Schoolteachers individually and collectively put in hard work imparting lessons to the tribal children and building their personalities with a spirit of dedication. Classroom performances were of good standard and school results were satisfactory. Although there were health hazards in most of the tribal areas, the primary health centres served the people and free medical services were available. Road networks got



Harvesting Malt by Sora



Harvesting Paddy by Sora Women

developed at a rapid pace in tribal areas which facilitated communication and transportation of development input to many tribal villages. Dug wells and tube wells were installed in most of the tribal villages and many tribal families gained themselves of the benefit irrigating their land. The quantum of infrastructure work and economic development activities undertaken during the seventies and eighties by tribal officers and the progress achieved could not be underestimated. I am pretty sure a qualitative assessment of all these could corroborate such a vibrant progress and development in tribal areas of Orissa and identify their positive effects.

The path adopted by the development agencies, the development personnel in the field it was so humane that they would not interfere with the people and their culture in any way. The pursuance of economic development programmes and the meekly gradual introduction of development personnel were so no way disruptive of the tribal socio-cultural and community life. It can be said that development interventions did proceed in accordance with the premise of the tribal people. From official field staff experience was enthusiastic about tribal development and achievement and at the same time, being the right kind of persons posed and depicted the purpose, became able to sort out problems that arose with the help of local people. As government officials they had their say in the area where they worked. There were however even at a personal level some individual field officers were interfering the local traders and moneylenders and efficiently procuring land and forest produce of the tribals giving them a fair price and fair deal. The situation in the field used to be peaceful, congenial and harmonious. Politically tribal areas were relatively quiet. The development policy, plan, the project personnel, people and policies seemed to be in harmony with each other. One would have expected slow and steady progress, lasting effects, tangible results out of the development activities undertaken in tribal areas. Definitely there were some impressive progress and positive effects on the people. But if there were any frustrating results and negative consequences, these were due to overbearing people with multiple schemes and in consequence allowing too many outsiders into tribal areas, about which Ncha was quite apprehensive and cautioned us very early.

The areas where people were receptive to development intervention reaped the benefits of development. Not only did they produce more, they also developed purchasing power and moved from hinter to market and markets. Taking advantage of their proximity shopkeepers and traders rushed into the tribal areas, applied their wiles and manipulative to siphon away the development benefits from them. In the competitive market, the tribals could not withstand the market pressure and succumbed to exploitation by outside tradersmen. Nevertheless, the standard of living of these people has risen and at the individual level, some have changed their life style but that has not affected the social and community life of the people.

The snag is that in the process of developing the tribes the development personnel lacked empirical understanding of the tribal situation and deeper knowledge of their socio-cultural system. At the same time, not being theoretically and analytically aided, they did not realize the economic differentiation existing in tribal villages. Among them, some families were landless and poor and others belonged to the land-owning group. They took tribal societies to be an ideal

communities practicing some sort of primitive communism. As a result, the benefits of development went to the well-to-do families who won the confidence of the development agents, but not to the needy and the poor. The balance between the better-off and the needy had widened further. In some cases it led to exploitation of the poor fellow-tribe. Not only the development agents were unaware of the empirical and analytical categories, they were also unable to discern tribal development in a broader perspective.

Lured by the humanitarian fervor and a progressive spirit with the zeal and enthusiasm of youth persons, the policy-makers and planners reversed the preceding approaches to tribal welfare and development and put in place the new development strategy of Tribal Sub-Plan. Although the anthropological perspectives of tribal development were given due consideration, the area approach adopted with demographic determination played a major role in formulating the TSP strategy. Most villages in the tribal area dominating TDPs on the basis of survey and sampling and implementing economic development programmes in haste without paying adequate attention to the felt needs of the tribal villages in keeping with their cultural and human resource bases had their limitations. Intending to take the development and achieve development goals faster than later projects, the development strategies to move on speed without a wheelbarrow. When the operations did not achieve the desired, he a attention to the horizontal space from covering one section of the tribal people as far as many sections as possible thereby making it explicit that they had covered the corners of the tribal mass. It gave them a great feeling of satisfaction. Without taking a pause evaluating the development undertaking in right earnest and sorting out the problems they continued to further move ahead with multiple packages for the benefit of a few. Moreover, the number of beneficiaries and sampling households spent at the end of a scheme was assumed to be their development achievement. Information on quantities dominated that on quality. It was no measure of judgement of development as categorically stated by Nehru long ago. Engaging in a sport for oneself but playing with the destiny of the disadvantaged however sporting was warranted for the masters of sponsors of destiny.

The years following the Seventh Five Year Plan witnessed tribal development passing through a calm state. The development schemes and programmes were implemented less enthusiastically and with less vigour. The newly recruited field staff moved away from the social status in the initial phase of the TSP were young and unmarried. They were women to work in the hinterland and to pursue development programmes at a participatory level getting personally involved. They worked very hard in the field and had no family burden. In later years they got married and their commitment decreased. They had to give more attention to their families. After staying in the field for 5-6 years they got used to the area and the people and acquired the necessary skills to move away with the tribals and the local people. They grew older and did not have the same zeal and zest for development work. After 10-15 years they were further demotivated when the Project funding was curtailed and the development institutions suffered on salary to the staff. They had paid no skill to the people. They had no other alternative than in taking resort to some lucrative means of earning for their livelihood. They joined the local people in trade and business. The field officers and their higher ups, after

some years got transferred. Supervision and monitoring got hampered. Development zeal waned. Their successors were devoid of the spirit and enthusiasm to take up any challenge. Neither merit nor any suitable selection norm was followed any more for the recruitment and posting of officers and staff in the field. Frustration reigned everywhere. Posting in ITDAs was discredited.

The hum of development activities pursued in tribal areas after reaching its climax in late eighties slowed down and moved at a pace registering no positive impact. Rather the impact was negative. The tribal people's expectations were belied. They got disturbed and disillusioned. Out of disgust, they rejected the change they had accepted. They felt deceived and resigned. In some cases they took resort to their traditional means of subsistence and in other cases they neither regressed nor did they move forward. Their woes got multiplied. They felt more and more insecure as they no longer got the same support and protection from the development agencies nor did they retain the strength they derived from the traditional community based institutions. Their social fabric, weakened, and taking advantage of that the outsiders started exploiting them more and more. They did not have the moral courage to counter the moneylenders and traders. They became their victims since they were needy and deprived.

Most of the development schemes that are now in operation in tribal areas follow a set pattern without being able to make any breakthrough. A visit to any development agency office and overseeing its activities in the field today make one see how casually things are being managed, as if the energy has drained away and the orchestra team is playing the sonata in silence. The phase of acceleration is over now. Development institutions are languishing. Infrastructures built in the recent past remained unused serving no purpose anymore. Agricultural and horticultural farmhouses and sapling centres are now being guarded by watchmen only. There are hardly any farming activities anymore. Tribal schools give the impression that there is no schooling environment and that there is sickness everywhere. There is utter negligence at the level of the schoolteachers and the authority. One comes to know about the estranged relationship among the teachers and between the teachers and the authorities. There is some problem somewhere. There is no concern, no commitment. People do not get the required services of doctors in Primary Health Centres (PHCs). Absenteeism of doctors has crippled the PHCs. Roads to tribal villages remain unrepaired for years. In many areas the neo-development phase of road communication was of no use to people or to the agency personnel.

The first phase of neo-development action benefited the people quite a lot. Infrastructure facilities were created and the areas improved appreciably. Development became visible. But later on, up to the present, when the really needy wants to get his share from development and he returns home frustrated. People have less faith in the agencies and their managers. Moreover in recent years the tribal situation and scenario have undergone change. Party politics and involvement of the unemployed educated youth in it create a situation very difficult for the agencies to handle. People are feeling the difference between the first phase of agencies' attachment and empathy for the people and the second phase of their detachment and apathy. Hence, quite often there is a scuffle between

the agencies and the people. This strikes a discordant note for the future development strategy. Should we not stop playing such a game? Everybody is sick of hearing it.

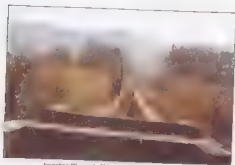
Tribal development dialectics

Tribal development is by no means a hot topic for discussion. After the Second World War it has been enormously discussed across the North and the South threshold. The dialogues and discourses on tribal development can be summarised and to have swung along idealist perceptions, skepticism and empiricism, understanding and explanation. The idealists espouse the notion of moulding and directing development of the State in conjunction with its people; the skeptics negate development of the State *toutus* the people and the empiricists move one step forward by advocating development of the State *the people* in remembrance with peoples' cultures. The latter take the view of holistic development. Of the three key ingredients are the State, the people and their cultures. Ironically enough, while the State and the people serve the oxymoron of the Statecraft, cultures of tribes are subconsciously pushed to the abscissa. In other words, macro perspectives reverberate in the tribal development process, although whereas macro perspectives have remained as mere rhetoric, slowly translated into action. In the hierarchy of social scientific professions, with the relatively macro social sciences, economics and sociology dominate the State agenda and the professionals in the two fields have been directing development policies amenable to State administration. In the process, macro professionalisation of anthropologists, who have a long-spread tribal cultures and their networks, since in enacting the State mitigating their problems and prompting their development has tacitly been recognised. This has resulted in the sorry state of affairs of tribal development. Tribal development seems to be in wrong hands. Idealism and skepticism have not yielded much. What is needed is empiricism. Empirical tools will pave the way for tribal development.

Out of the humanistic scientific dilemma of tribal development empiricism provides the only way. A humanist is an idealist; a scientist is a theorist. An empiricist is practical. Any attempt to address problems of tribal development will have to instrument tribal cultures and the stark reality has to be tackled. Without those, whatever development reaches to the mind and body of a development executive is detrimental. Without recognition of the empiricism, its development has as long been pursued in shreds and patches and therefore the goals of development have been defeated. Especially in a country like India exhibiting unity in diversity, upholding an old civilisation value and embracing economic liberalization and globalization, tribal development needs to be re-considered in the light of postmodern thinking. The dynamics of the country vis-à-vis the tribal people and their cultures require a treatment that has to be spelled as empiricism. The development strategies have to be looked after as technically empiricism. Objectivism in the minds of the decision-makers has to be dispelled. Empiricists should call the tune. Empirical research and development should go hand in hand. The State policy in this regard needs to be amended, refurbished and re-adjusted. Empiricists should rise to the occasion and lay bare their findings to the powers that be. The present global agenda set before us has to be read between the lines.



Litchi Plantation in PSDA, Khuntagon area



Irrigation Channel of MP in PSDA, Khuntagon area

Adhering to the norms of human rights, people's empowerment and development the empiricists must meet the challenge

Putting mind rather than putting in money to tribal development

Action plans should be based on sound principles of scientific planning with a futuristic focus. Schemes suitable to local situation should be emphasized. Security of land, provisions of input, cooperative credit and marketing facilities should be the main approach. Protection and non-interference policy should be preferred. Traditional institutions, instead of being undermined, need to be strengthened and made useful. Panchayats/Raj bodies are of some use; relevance to the tribal areas. Entrusting these bodies with additional responsibilities will facilitate a better sense of development and participation of tribals in the development process.

Tribes of India occupy the extreme outer periphery of the highly stratified structure of the Indian society. An adequate understanding of the position of these tribes in Indian society can only be situated within a conceptual framework of broad processes of incorporation and exclusion, which took place over several thousands years. Spatially protected from the unequal processes of Hindu incorporation, the tribal autochthons in the mountains and jungles evolved, over centuries distinctive cultures, languages and forms of social organization which are of totally different order than those which emerged in the rest of India under Hindu influence. It is these people who, through centuries, acquired distinctive traits, which gave them separate territorially based ethnic identities outside the Hindu fold.

In the consciousness of the Hindu elite, the tribals are the excluded people, not subject to the Brahmanical system of social control, the historically evolved cultural stereotype of the 'alien'.

The tribals are bound to get a better economic deal if there is a marginal dilution in the current degree of elite control on the state apparatus. The tribals themselves must organize politically so as to exert pressure on the state for launching effective programmes of tribal development. A genuine tribal leadership, capable of fighting for the rights of the tribals at the political level, must emerge from the grassroots level political organization of the tribals themselves.

The current tribal scene in India is characterized by widespread unrest and dissatisfaction among the tribal people stemming from the processes of institutionalized economic exploitation and socio-political marginalization operating against them in a broader non-tribal Hindu society. They now find themselves engulfed in. Even the Constitution of India, the highest law of the postcolonial state, acknowledges the need for protecting scheduled tribes, along with other underprivileged sections of the population, from the conditions of exploitation and social injustice prevailing in the broader society (see Article 46). All the national and state level planning documents and social policy pronouncements in India, since the beginning of the period of planned development, have persistently striven to promote the welfare of the tribal population by creating a whole array of bureaucratic institutions and by allocating



to these institutions specified sums of money for carrying through numerous much publicized welfare and socio-economic programmes targeted at tribal areas and tribal people. These programmes, even after being in continuous operation for about five decades, have had very little effect. The ineffectiveness of the government sponsored tribal development programmes has been acknowledged in most recent official planning documents.

The state as well as the academic community in India regard the country's tribal problem as one of integrating a geographically isolated and economically backward section of its population into its national mainstream of society and economy. The paradox is, in doing so, the tribal population becomes vulnerable to the exploitative nature of the integrative process itself. In the process the tribal society loses its economic autonomy and eventually its territorial base although it continues retain a high degree of social autonomy. The tribal becomes a marginalized alien in his own homeland.

To view the India's tribal problem as one of breaking down the current social isolation of the tribal people and of integrating them into the national mainstream under the existing conditions is to cause extreme violence to their immediate as well as long term interests.

An effective strategy for tribal development has to combat exploitation in all spheres and at all levels. Special attention has to be given to the following main problems of tribes: of their loss of control on land and forest resources, the principal productive assets of the tribal society; penetration of petty finance through moneylending; monopoly of non-tribals on all trading activities in tribal areas, including the trade in agricultural and forest produce.

Conclusion

An adequate understanding of the position of tribes today in the Indian society can be situated within a conceptual framework, which takes on board the broad processes of mainstreaming the socio-politically and economically marginalized who were said to have occupied the extreme periphery of the highly stratified structure of the Indian society. It is time to critically estimate, assess and analyze the discrimination that had affected the tribal societies, their cultures and environment due to the development interventions in the last several plan periods. It is time to re-examine the reality before we plan for their future course of development and change. Anthropological approach should shift their focus of inquiry from studying internal structures of a tribal society to its external connectivities.

Since the beginning of the period of planned development since 1951, all the national and state level planning documents and social policy pronouncements in India have persistently carried the theme laid down in Article 46 of the Constitution, 'the state will promote with special care the educational and economic interests of scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation'. The political rhetoric on the subject has been enthusiastic and eloquent. The centre and the state governments have long been going through the motions of promoting the welfare of the tribal population.

by creating a whole array of bureaucratic institutions and by allocating to these specified sums of money to carry through numerous much publicized welfare and socio-economic programmes targeted at tribal areas and its people. These programmes, even after being in continuous operation for more than five decades, have had very little effect in stemming the worsening immiseration of the tribal people. The ineffectiveness of the government sponsored tribal development programmes has been acknowledged in most recent official planning documents.

We all regard the country's tribal problem as one of integrating a geographically isolated and economically backward section of its population into the national mainstream of society and economy. But the paradox is that the integration that has been taking place has devastating effects on the tribal population since the central issue of the problem is that the integrative process itself is exploitative.

It is important to remember that the tribal society continues to retain a high degree of social autonomy. The broader society's elite culture and hierarchical caste structure do not blend all that well with the communitarian ethos of the tribal society. The gradual intertwining process which apparently blends the two societies together should not be construed as integration, the desirable objective to pursue and achieve. As the process continues, the tribal society loses its economic autonomy and eventually its territorial base. The tribal becomes a marginalized alien in his own homeland.

An effective strategy of tribal development has to combat expropriation at all stages: control on land and forest resources, the principal productive assets of the tribal society; monopoly of non-tribals in all trading activities in tribal areas, petty financing. Broad and imaginative interventionist measures will be required to break the stranglehold of non-tribal communities on all business, trading and commercial activities of the tribal areas. But without a positive move in this direction, all other measures of tribal development are bound to remain ineffective, because a positive gains the tribals might make through their increased control on productive assets will still be lost through exorbitant terms of exchange.

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The Dongria Kondh Youth Dormitory: An Agent of Development

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B.B. Mohanty
P.K. Nayak

Introduction

Youth dormitory, otherwise known as the institution of bachelor's house, is one of the most important social institutions found among many primitive societies of the world. S.F. Peal, the first English writer who examined the communal barracks of the primitive races drew attention to the fact that from Bhutan to New Zealand and from the Marqueses to the Niger the system existed and was distinguished by certain persistent features (Eliwin, 1968: 19).

In tribal India as described by Majumdar, dormitories are found practically in all parts of the country where the tribal people have their habitation. The institution is found among most of the aboriginal tribes, such as the Munda, Ho, Oraon and Kharia of Chhotanagpur plateau and Ghasia, Gond and Bhumia of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Konyak Naga of Assam, and among the Bhoia of Bihar. Many tribes of Melanesia and Polynesia are also known to have dormitories. In Southern India the Muthuvans, Mannam and Polyan of Tamil Nadu and the Kuruk of Kerala are reported to have the dormitory institutions (Majumdar, 1967).

Eliwin observed that dormitories can be grouped into two types. The first one is a semi-military barracks type supposed to aim at a strict segregation of boys connected with war hunting and magic. The second type allows them to have relationship with the unmarried girls by regulating pre-nuptial interests of the tribal youths (1969:19). Majumdar holds that dormitories are bi-sexual as well as mono-sexual. The men's dormitory is usually the largest building in tribal settlements since it serves as a meeting place of the villagers, as a guesthouse and a sleeping house of the men. Both types of dormitories fulfil important social and religious functions (1967).

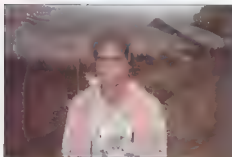
The subject of origin of the dormitory is always controversial and remains obscure. There are different views regarding, how, when and under what circumstances the youth dormitories have originated.

- The youth dormitory is possibly, a survival of the communal house from which private dwellings split (Eliwinibid).
- Hodson holds a similar view. He opines that there are three stages in the development of the home. At the initial stage, the whole village lived together in a communal house. In the subsequent stage a group of individual houses were developed with the sexes segregated into unmarried boys and married men having their dormitory and a separate dormitory for unmarried girls. And, thus, only the mothers and very young children lived at home. Finally, due to the economic pressure of modern systems of taxation, the husband shared the mother's house and

the family house came into evidence (1911:75). For Hodson, the dormitory institution would seem to be rather symptomatic of a definite level of culture, but it still falls far from specific ethnic group study.

- Hodson further holds that the object of the dormitory was to avoid incest and perhaps was instituted to prevent children from witnessing the primal scene and being an embarrassment to their parents (Hodson 191: 56).
- In certain countries like Africa and Asia, the dormitory serves a military purpose.
- According to some other scholars, among certain primitive societies sexual intercourse is prohibited during the busy agricultural seasons and in a men's house is separated, provided for and on the other hand the lonely women lived together in a separate house. Besides menstruating women were also kept segregated in these houses.
- Moreover, among certain tribes communities like Maria and Mursi, husbands are not allowed to sleep in the house with their wives so long as the male child of the newborn child has not fallen. Among many other tribes, sometimes sexual relationship is prohibited until the child is born.
- It has to be the opinion that there are functional and stratificational reasons behind the establishment of dormitory organization. In his view, it is a need everywhere for a rest house, for visitors in a village and the organization of younger generation of the tribe to form a village committee. Moreover, these societies that are based on age grades need special clubs for the younger people and the unmarried ones. He is of the view that the bonds and some other tribal dormitories in China, perhaps, aim at enabling girls to find suitable husbands and test their desirability (1968: 24).
- It has to be viewed the dormitory organization as a unique phase of human development. According to him, the village dormitories elsewhere provides the most important evidence for any discussion on group marriage, group cohesiveness, pre-nuptial chastity, pre-nuptial infidelity, the value of more. Forgetting etc. is the anthropologist. On the other hand is the non-anthropology of the dormitory in terms about cohesiveness, the expectation marriage between those who have grown up together, the obligation of paternal responsibility, the relation of discipline and freedom and the elimination of jealousy. It opens up the ancient problems of sex and marriage. " (ibid).
- The institution of dormitory seems an integral part of tribal society and its importance and value cannot be ignored. A. R. Roy while describing Indian dormitories says that the dormitory is an effective economic organization for purposes of bond, good, a useful seminar for training young men in their social and other duties and at the same time an institution for religious, games, diversions calculated to secure success in hunting and to augment the procreative power of young men (1953: 211).

It may be pointed out that under the impact of modernization primitive customs, practices and institutions have become disorganized and disintegrated beyond our imagination. The same is the case with dormitory organizations. It has to be the opinion that under modern conditions when mankind is at every stage of development the dormitory is suffering from drastic and rapid changes and one



A. Dindia Kurni May



day anthropology must become history or nothing. The socio-cultural characteristics are as valuable as their economic resources to adapt to a rapidly changing world. Information on customs, practices, art, culture, religion, etc., is of great practical importance and an indispensable pre-requisite for an effective administration and development. Mazumdar very strongly opines, "the main purpose of education is to strengthen the feeling of responsibility in the people and to conserve the values in society which have stood the test of time - but have helped them to survive. Any scheme of education devised for the tribal people must take notice of the indigenous methods of training and must be broadly based on what has been of abiding significance to their cultural life. The system of dormitory life, for example, should be carefully studied. If oriented to suit the present needs, the youth organization of the dormitory is likely to prove a bulwark to these tribes who still jealously guard it as a treasure and a legacy" (1964 IX). Thus, the development of indigenous groups largely depends on the improvement of two basic resources, social-cultural and natural. These are mutually supportive of each other. As such before launching any development programmes/projects for tribal communities there is a need for understanding them, their cultures, values, traditions and institutions, which helps in achieving the development goal.

Nomenclatures used by different tribal communities

The institution of dormitory is differently known by different tribal communities. A list of some of which is given below.

| Name of the State | Name of the community | Dormitory Nomenclature | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| | | Mono-sexual | | Bi-sexual |
| | | Male | Female | |
| Assam | Konyak Naga | Ban | Yo | - |
| | Memiss | Ichuoch | Ichoch | - |
| | Angami Naga | Kichuki | - | Arichu |
| I.P. | Bhotas | Rangang | - | - |
| | Munda and Ito | Gillora | - | - |
| Chotanagpur and Orissa | Orasus | Jonkerpa | Polo-erpa | - |
| | | Dhumuna | | |
| Chotanagpur | Gond | Gohi | - | - |
| | Ao and Sema | Morang | - | - |
| | Juang | Miang | - | - |
| | Bhumys | Dhangarbasu/ Mandaghar | - | - |
| Orissa | | Darbar | | |
| | Bondo | - | Ingramon | - |
| | Dongris Kondh | - | De-She-bela, Da she-bada | - |

Studies on Dormitory

Scant attention has been given to the study of dormitory institutions among the tribes. Except a few, most of the ethnographers have made some sketchy descriptions of dormitories of a few tribes of India. C. von Furer-Haemendorf has given a detailed account on the Kowak Naga, S. C. Roy on Oraons and Verrier Elwin on the Muria Gonds. The most exquisite description of a dormitory organization called "Bukomulula" is found in Macdonald's *Traditional Institutions*.

In Orissa, youth dormitories are still in existence and found very functional among a number of tribal groups such as the Oran, Paudi Bhumika, Bonda, Juang, and Dongria Kondh. Besides such dormitories or dormitory like organizations, which did exist among most other tribes of Orissa have dwindled away. The present paper is based on the study of the institution of bachelors' dormitory of the Dongria Kondh. The Dongria inhabit the Niyamgiri hills in southern Orissa. The focus of the paper is on describing and understanding the structure and function of the institution of youth dormitories among them. It also traces the importance and utility of youth dormitory as a social institution which can be tapped and harnessed for pursuing development programmes among the Dongria Kondh, a primitive tribal group (PTG). It discusses the dormitories in respect of their structure and composition, constitution, management, rules and regulations, role of dormitory members, and change and transformation.

Earlier references on Dongria Kondh dormitory

Literature on Dongria Kondh dormitory are scanty. Nayak while describing the girls' dormitory of the Dongria Kondh notes *da-shu-sika* *da-shu* meaning a matured girl. The dormitory house presents a separate look from the rest of the houses because of its decorated walls. Their number varies from a flag to a village. The young boys, *Dhangras*, do not have any dormitory house and they sleep on some ones verandah in small groups and the sleeping place is known as *dhangronga dala*. Following the principle of village exogamy, young boys of the same village do not enter the *da-shu-sika*. Young men from the affinal clan villages attend the dormitory at late evening and leave before dawn. Each matured girl who is a member of the dormitory assumes a new name known as *Salala* name. He further notes that it is a natural instinct on the part of the boys and girls to attend the dormitory. Even after marriage, a man visits the dormitory though he never allows his wife to visit the same. The younger girls in the dormitory learn needlework from the elders. They are also taught the art of playing their traditional musical instrument, *Goom*. Brides, entertainments with exchange of peaces and gifts also take place among the dormitory mates. In the dormitory, sleeping partners are often changed and more importance is given to the relatively rich *dhangra*, identified by use of more ornaments, specifically *muma* and *numum* (1999: 45).

Patnaik refers to the Dongria dormitory house as *Hada Sala* and also *Dhangodi Sala* or *Adashetta*. It is smaller in size, located at one of the extreme ends of the village near the stream. In the youth dormitory, clan exogamy is strictly followed because there is a strong negative social sanction against clan incest.



GROUP OF FIVE



MAN AND WOMAN

Cases of conception in the dormitory are of rare occurrence as they use indigenous herbal medicines as a protective measure. In the society pre marital conception is not treated as a great offence. The institution is losing its importance in some villages as young girls are not present in these villages. However the training that the institution used to impart has now become the family responsibilities for the enculturation and orientation of the children (1982).

Utpal Aparajit opines that the Dongria Kondh dormitory is mono sexual, known as *Tha cho sala*. The dormitory houses are specially built located behind residential houses close to the bus stands. While visiting the dormitory they follow the rules of clan and village exogamy. After nightfall the unmarried boys and girls spend the night in merry making, singing and dancing. Exchange of gifts like traditional sword knives, carved wooden combs made among themselves. Now these gifts are replaced by bangles, necklaces, jewelry and plastic combs. The author remarks that dormitory organization is but a very minor part of the Dongria Kondh society. However the institution is losing its importance under the impact of neighbouring Hindu culture. The development programmes also influence the social structure of the Dongria Kondh to a great deal. The boys who have education in the schools feel ashamed of visiting the dormitory (1994: 207).

The *dhargandas* and *dhargadis* form their respective labour cooperatives. Each group works as a unit. Their services are requisitioned by the villagers for agricultural work. The income is deposited in a common fund, which is utilized in arranging common feasts. The youth dormitories act as learning and training centres and the youth learn in practice their traditional arts and crafts, songs and dances etc.

R.K. Nayak and others mention that the number of the Dongria Kondh dormitories vary in a village from one to as many as five depending upon their population. For the young women the dormitories become their social headquarters from the age of about seven until marriage. In other aspects the young women remain fully a part of their households. The dormitory helps to relieve pressure on the family sleeping room. In addition, it serves as the beginning of both their communal service and sex experiences. Dormitory practice can never be viewed as promiscuity. The Dongria Kondh society does not approach sex as the relation between young men and women is based on prescribed rules. This follows the principle of clan exogamy and also village exogamy. The young women do not dance in front of their elders. Their songs and dances reflect lyrics expressing love and devotion, narration of different aspects of their socio culture and economic life. Dormitory is a place where marriages are materialised. Alternatively, the young people of a village while go to the market or festivals or elsewhere also have the scope to choose their mates. (1980).

Young men of other villages are entertained at the dormitory. In case a second group of young men arrive the former usually withdraw to avoid conflict. Non Dongria persons are not allowed to enter the dormitory. Sleeping arrangement inside the dormitory is mainly made on mutual understanding. The young girls normally sleep in rows but when the young men visit them, those who wish to

form pairs sleep in the centre. Those who do not wish to pair sleep in a corner or make another row.

Exchange of gifts like clothes, ornaments, rings, hair clips, etc. are made between both the sexes as a token of love. In case of a betrothed young girl, knives and traditional clothes are prohibited as gifts. The youths prefer their traditional dress pattern. In case they are differently dressed, the young women refuse to sleep with them.

The Dongria Kondh People

The Dongria Kondh habitat is situated at about 380 miles away from the State Capital Bhubaneswar on the top of the Niyamgir hill ranges in Rayagada district. There is both rail and bus services from the State Capital up to Chatikona, a village on the Waltair Raipur railway line and to Manguda, a sub-urban town. And from Chatikona and Manguda one has to climb four miles to reach the Dongria Kondh villages.

The Dongria Kondh belong to a Dravidian linguistic group. They speak Kuxi. The name 'Dongria' signifies that they are community of hill-dwellers, Donger means high hill land (Nayak 1989). They practice both shifting cultivation and horticulture.

Their dress pattern is unique. The males wear long clothes tied around the waist many times while both the ends are kept free on the back and front. The females use two pieces of clothes, one piece they wear like a skirt and the other like an apron that covers the front side. The men and women grow long hair. Both the sexes are fond of ornaments. Sometimes, it is difficult to differentiate the sexes from a long distance.

Nuclear composition of family is most common among them. Patrilineal extended and polygynous families also exist. The family is patrilineal, patrilocal and patrilineal in nature. Each clan group acts as a corporate group forming a territorial organization or *Murba*. The Dongria Kondh social structure is characterized by co-operation and conflict between the clans.

The Dongria Kondh is a section of the great Kondh tribe. The total population of the Dongria Kondh will be a little more than 10,000. Their population in the Micro Project area is 7952 of which 3458 are males and 4494 are females.

The study was conducted in three villages namely Khambai, Kuduhapadar and Kurli, that come under the Kurli (i.e. P. of Bissam-Cuttack Block). The villages lie at an altitude of about 1000 feet above the sea level. The villages, Kurli, Kuduhapadar and Khambai are situated at a distance of about 13, 15, 17 Kms. respectively from the Block Headquarters at Bissam-Cuttack.

Khambai and Kuduhapadar come under Wadaka *Murba*, Wadaka clan territory and Kurli under Jakasika *Murba*, Jakasika clan territory. The first two are

multi-clan villages whereas Kurl has uni-clan composition. The clans have their sub-clan groups, namely: Mondal, Jari, Bamajhi and Pujari.

Table 1. Households, Population and no. of Dormitories in the three study villages

| Name of the village | No. of Households | Male | Female | Total | No. of dormitories | No. of dormitory members |
|---------------------|-------------------|------|--------|-------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Khamban | 98 | 189 | 229 | 418 | 6 | 36 |
| Kurl | 35 | 82 | 94 | 176 | 3 | 16 |
| Kuduhalepur | 5 | 7 | 14 | 21 | 1 | 5 |
| Total | 38 | 278 | 337 | 615 | 10 | 57 |

It is evident from the table that in each of the three villages female population exceeds the male population. There are in all 10 *da-she-hada* / *Dhapa* with a total of 57 members. The village Khamban has maximum number of *da-she-hada* i.e. six with 36 members followed by Kurl 3 *Dhapa* with 16 members and Kuduhalepur with 1 *Dhapa* and 5 members. It is found that the membership strength varies from 3 to 7 in the dormitories located in the study villages.

Dongria Dormitory

The Dongria Kondh girls dormitory is meant for the maidens only. It is known as *da-she-hada* or *da-she-hana*. It is named after *da-she* meaning an unmarried girl, and *hada* or *hana* living house. They do not have any specific sleeping house for the young boys. The boys usually sleep in someone's verandah or in the house of a widower in small groups. This place is known as *Dhangwanga Dukr*.

The Dongria hold different views regarding the *da-she-hada*. In the first place, they trace its origin back to the mythological period and hold it as a traditional cultural practice followed since generations. Some believe that a community house for the youth not only serves the purpose of accommodation at night but also separates grown up boys and girls from sleeping with their parents. There are other views, which support the fact that, the dormitory is a preparatory home for the girls before entering the family life. It might have been instituted to assign the older boys and girls the task of educating the younger children with the cultural practices, customs, economic pursuits, folklores, riddles and above all to teach them the art of social adjustment. Imparting education on these are the duty of the parents but for which they have neither time nor inclination and as such the responsibility is bestowed upon the dormitory.

The size of the dormitory varies from village to village depending upon the population of unmarried girls in a village. It is informed that some villages having no grown up girls do not have the dormitory institution. A list of *da-she-hada* in twelve villages of Kurl Gram Panchayat is given below.

Village-wise position of du-shu-huata in twelve villages of Karli G.P.

| <i>Name of the Village</i> | <i>No. of Dormitories</i> | <i>Name of the Village</i> | <i>No. of Dormitories</i> |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mundabail | 2 | Khajuri | 3 |
| Hutai | 1 | Radanga | 4 |
| Hundajali | 2 | Patalamba | 1 |
| Bandeli | 2 | Gandeli | 1 |
| Kiridi | 1 | Gortul | 2 |
| Kadgumma | Nil | Thanguda | 1 |

In village Kudgumma, at present no dormitory is functioning, as the village does not have any unmarried young girls. In Patalamba village, there is only one dormitory, but it was informed that there were more in the past.

Further it is found that in some villages, dormitory has ceased to function for some reason or other. But, the institution by no means is extinct for the young girls of the villages sleep separately in groups in small rooms called *Lhapara* as found in the two of study villages namely, Karli and Kudabailpada. An account of the number of *Du-shu-huata* / *Lhapara* in the study area and the enrolment position of members in each of these dormitories is given below.

A dormitory member or a matured girl is known by the name *du-shu* and a group of them as *du-shu-joku*. A young boy is known by the name *Du-ne-re* and a group of them *Du-ne-go*. The term *du-shu* also refers to *dhunguh* and the *du-ne-re* to *dhungura*.

A dormitory may be composed of girls belonging to one clan group or a number of clan groups. Previously, the villages were uni-clan in nature, for which membership in the dormitory was restricted to one clan only. But, now, with the increase of population and immigration dormitories have accommodated multi-clan members. The picture that emerges from the study villages reveals that in Karli, the dormitory is uni-clan, composed of members of *Athavika Kula* only, in the other two villages they are multi-clan in nature. The dormitory members belong to *Wandika, Karbuka, Sibuka, Kusika, Melu* and *Prasuka* Kulis.

It is found that, the age of dormitory members varies from 10 to 40 years or even above. Age group-wise distribution of 57 dormitory members is furnished below.

Table 4. Age group-wise distribution of Dormitory Members

| Age group in years | No. of members in study villages | | | Total |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| | Khambari | Kuchibhotla | Kurli | |
| 10-14 | 8 | - | 7 | 15 |
| 15-20 | 11 | 3 | 7 | 21 |
| 21-24 | 2 | - | 2 | 4 |
| 25-29 | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| 30-34 | 5 | - | - | 5 |
| 35-39 | 2 | 1 | - | 3 |
| 40+ | 8 | - | - | 8 |
| Total | 36 | 5 | 16 | 57 |

The table shows that out of total 57 members, maximum (21) belong to age group of 15 to 20 years, while minimum (3) belong to age group of 35 to 39 years. It is interesting to note that quite a sizable number of dormitory members belong to age group of 40 and above.

Genealogy of the dormitory members shows that, sisters and their consanguineal kin can share the same dormitory. Besides, spinsters, divorcees and widows without children are allowed to visit the dormitory. Higher age grade is not a bar for continuing in it. Spinsters at higher age grades do not pair with *Dhangudas*. Selection of dormitory members is based on their mutual understanding and friendship.

The oldest member of a dormitory acts as the head and is known by the name *Kajari*. Every member is expected to obey her. It is the *Kajari* who more often selects the *Dhangudas* for pairing, makes distribution of work on festive occasions, fixes dance expeditions. Both male and female shamans (*Beyu* and *Beyunt*) do not visit the dormitory as a customary prohibition.

In Dongria settlements, the dormitories are generally built at the backside of the rows of residential houses close to the streams. These remain separated from the residential house by a narrow path in between. Such location of the dormitory helps the girls to maintain privacy and secrecy. It is a convention that the parents are supposed to know nothing of what happens in the dormitory. A girl also does not let her parents see her when she goes or comes out from the *da-she-hudo*.

Each *da-she-hudo* is approximately rectangular in its ground plan. But all the dormitories are not of the same and similar size. There are degrees of variation among them. Generally a dormitory measures about 7 feet in length and 3 feet in breadth with a sloped low roof. It is a single roomed hut with a narrow verandah about 7 feet in length and 2 feet in breadth in the front. It is having only one front door and no windows. The height of the dormitory door is very short in size being about 3 ft and breadth being 2 ft. One has to enter the house by bowing down.

Dhapar is comparatively a small room than the *di-she-hada*, which is an extension of a residential house on the backside. It is connected with the main house by a narrow door. Besides, it is provided with another door at its back. The *Dhapar* are also having no windows. Out of the 3 *Dhapar* in Kurli, two are located near the stream.

The construction of dormitory is based on a skilled and co-operative work. It is done through mutual help and co-operation by work groups of both sexes. The boys do the technical and hard work required for the building like cutting and transportation of timber from the forest, raising wooden structure, making ropes from the jungle grass, making beams, roofs, etc. The structure is built on 9 bars made of *Uhamara* wood. After the structure is raised, the girls plaster the walls with mud and cow dung mixed with chips of paddy. After plastering, the walls are polished with rounded stone.

Inside the house, along the borders of the walls there is a continuous platform meant for storing of food grains and belongings of the dormitory members. Towards the eastern corner of the room, a place is left for the fire in a customary manner. From the roof, bamboo bars are hanged, where the clothes of the dormitory members are kept. Besides, they keep other belongings like hair clips, combs, oil, and necklaces in small baskets. earthen pots kept in the rope shelves hung from the roof of the house. Besides, one or two small sized mats are found to be hanging on the walls to be used for sitting and sleeping purposes. Now a days, photographs of the dormitory members and other outside visitors are hanged on the wall. There are also small containers kept in the dormitory used for spriting. On the floor, two to three small holes known as *Hon*, which serves the purpose of Mortar, fixed for husking food grains. Two to three pestles made up of round wooden bars fitted with iron ring at one end are kept in one corner of the room. In the dormitory, the members sleep with their feet towards the fire and use scanty or no beds for this purpose. Occasionally they use small mats made up of bamboo strips purchased from the local market.

Generally a girl after attaining puberty is eligible to enter the dormitory. But, there is no taboo on the younger girls to attend it, though they might not be allowed to sleep there at night. On the other hand, a young boy becomes a *dhungwah* only after he develops mustache. Admission into the dormitory does not require any special rites and rituals. There is also no specific initiation ceremony observed. It is a customary practice that 2-3 years after attending dormitory, the *dhungwah* is given a name known as *Sakala* name and then she became a full fledged member. These names are of great importance to them, as until that time, they are not allowed to have mates in the dormitory. Their parental names are rarely used in the dormitory or by other mates. On the other hand, parents and close relatives hardly ever use the *sakala* name at home. The first word of the *sakala* name indicates the name of one of the local flowers, leaves, trees, food grains or activities and appearances of the *dhungwah* concerned, while the second one refers to the feminine form (*Mau*). A few of these names and their meanings are cited below.

Dormitory names

Chichard Wani
Groslo Wani
Pigad Wani
Wadala Wani
Putuk Wani
Porodu Wani
Lah Wani
Sakar Wani
Palachu Wani
Biguru Wani

Meaning

The member is very active
Name of a flower which they eat
talkative
Who bends like a leaf
Short height
Name of a leaf
Race or Lakshmi
Black grass
Leaf of Kurma tree
Straw

There are about 10 spinsters found in the *da-she-hoda* of village Khambani, while in other two villages, they are not found. However, Patnaik (1982) remarked that Bachelors and spinsters are rare in the Dongria Kondh society. In order to find out under what circumstances girls remained as spinsters in the village Khambani, the life histories of few of them are cited below.

Case Study 1 In village Khambani one Wadeka Timi aged 45 daughter of Wadeka Kalia is still found to be visiting the dormitory. She was engaged at her early age to a Panika boy of village Gaurma and her parents received one pair of buffaloes (Sambandhi Podhas), two tins of alcohol, rice etc. from the groom's family as a customary gift. Wadeka Timi after maturity attended the dormitory. The groom's family asked for marriage. At this point, she firmly refused to marry the boy on the plea that he was an alcohol-addict. Her parents returned the gifts to the groom's family. Now she is continuing as a spinster in the dormitory as she did not get any suitable match. However, she does not sleep with any *dhongada* and she acts as the *Kajuri* of that dormitory.

Case Study 2 Another example is Wadeka Saka, sister of Wadeka Timi, a widow of 43 years old who is still a dormitory member. In her early childhood she was betrothed to a Sikoka boy. Unfortunately, the bridegroom died at an early age and her marriage with any one else could not be materialized. As a result she remained a spinster.

Case Study 3 One Wadeka Basuki, daughter of late Wadeka Sura, village Khambani, is 39 years old. Her parents died when she was too young leaving three other girls younger to her. In order to look after her sisters, she remained unmarried. Now all her sisters have got married. But Wadeka Basuki remained as a spinster. She is attending the dormitory and happy with her life.

Case Study 4 Wadeka Manu, aged 35 years, daughter of Wadeka Lunika, village Khambani was negotiated to Jakasika Shyema, son of Jakasika Uhani of village Kuri twenty years ago. Later Jakasika Shyema married to another Sikoka girl of village Kharun. Now, he is blessed with two sons. Wadeka Manu disliked to be his second wife although he wanted to marry her. Though polygyny is prevalent, among them, but in recent times, the girls are some how opposed to such a practice. As stated by Wadeka Manu, "I don't want to marry in fear of ill-treatment

from the in-laws. The husband will beat me in a drunken state under the plea that I am not working and a lazy woman compared to his other wife. What will happen, if I return to my parents with a child?" While narrating this she cited the case of her older sister, Sakar Wani who had married as the second wife to Prasaka Nark, son of Prasaka Bandhan. She was subjected to repeated physical assault from her husband on the ground that she was lazy and doing no work. Finally, her husband left her and now she is staying with her parents along with her daughter. According to their customary law, she is not allowed to attend the dormitory. So, Wodeka Manu is of the opinion that "life as a spinster in the dormitory is far better than such a type of married life".

It is observed that the present generation Dongria girls view marriage as the end of sexual and domestic freedom of life and friendship between young people. Rather it burdens them with the economic responsibility, change in residence and transformation in life-style. They confidently hold this view for a Dongria girl as a daughter is never economically dependant on her parents nor as a wife on her husband. Rather she is an economic asset to both as she works more than a Dongria male.

The Dongria clan system plays an important role in regulating their marriage and activities in the dormitory. All clans are grouped into two categories: *Bhar* clans and *Bandhu/Samanthi* clans. Those clans who permit marriage between them are known as *Bandhu/Samanthi* clans. Marriage ties among *Bhar* clans are prohibited as they form a single exogamous unit.

They follow clan exogamy strictly as there is a strong negative social sanction against clan incest. In pursuance with the clan rules, the boys and girls of one village are considered as brothers and sisters even though they belong to *Bandhu/Samanthi* clan groups. Thus, the *dhangadar* do not visit the dormitory of their own village. This practice of clan exogamy as well as village exogamy functions well as the Dongria Kondh lineages are not well developed. As such, according to Nayak, "Most of the Dongria Kondhs remember the names of their ancestors up to the grandfather's generation and rarely trace genealogical connection beyond that beyond the extended family. A lineage may include a few other nuclear families living in other villages, all of which can be genealogically linked" (1989:107). Premarital relationship, which does not violate the clan rules, is not considered as an offensive act.

Mode of Acquiring Dormitory Partners:

The way of life of the Dongria Kondh and the work pattern provide ample opportunities for the meeting of boys and girls. They often meet at market places, Podu fields, forests, festive occasions, social functions like *Siba Rati* etc. held at Chhatikona. In these places selection of dormitory partners takes place. There, they talk, exchange jokes and gifts with one another. While mixing, they develop intimacy and a boy throws his traditional cloth (*Kunda*) knotted in it food materials like *Laja*, dry fish etc. over the girl of his choice and asks for her partnership with him for the day. The other way to show his desire for companionship is to snatch the cloth of the girl. Sometimes, the boy also threatens the girl to kill, "I will see

her with any other boy. If the girl reacts positively, they meet at lonely places. Afterwards, the boy visits the dormitory of that village where the girl is a member. However, they follow an exogamy in selecting their dormitory mates.

Besides, the above practice, late at night the *dhangudas* visit the dormitory of their *handla* villages. On reaching there they blow mouth organs called *gani* at the door of the dormitory to inform about their arrival. The *Kajuri* of the dormitory first collects information about their clan names and village names. Then only she allows them to enter the dormitory. According to rule, it is the *Kajuri* who decides with whom who will pair. But in practice, generally pairing is prefixed earlier on the above said occasions and accordingly the boys come. Once a boy is betrothed to a girl of a particular dormitory, he is not allowed to visit that dormitory by strictest of the rule. A visit to the dormitory takes place during a particular season in the year. It mainly takes place during the period of ripening of Ragi, Kousla and watching of Dongar fields before harvesting.

The real life at the dormitory begins at night. As such, it may be termed as a night club. The girls work at the Podu fields during the day and return home at the sunset and make preparations for the night to be spent in the dormitory. The girls do little household work like fetching water in the evening. The mother or sister-in-laws mainly do the cooking. The girls wash themselves in the stream and start combing, they dress up by putting flowers in the bun and wearing ornaments, sitting in groups on the verandah of the dormitory. After early dinner, they assemble one by one in the *da shi-hada*. Thereafter they sweep the house and lit the fire. In moon lit nights they dance for an hour or two, the smaller children playing game near by. Sometimes, they just sit round the fire and chitchat while the older girls engage themselves in knitting their traditional attire. While doing this and waiting for the boy friends from other villages, they pass out their time by chewing *paltes* after being fried. Besides, they sit-down in groups and listen stories from any one of the colleagues, exchange jokes and tell riddles and talk about their boy friends. The dormitory is also used as a forum for expedition or allotment of duties at wedding and religious functions. The smaller girls return to their respective homes as the night grows. The boys generally visit the dormitory late in the evening. On their arrival, the girls receive them joyfully and all of them spend sometime in merry making. Thereafter, the boys and girls on the basis of their intimacy with one another form pairs and lie down facing each other and exchange talks. Besides, some of them also go out to lonely places with her mate for more intimacy. Very early in the morning, the boys leave the dormitory, so that their visits may be kept a secret from others. On the other hand, the girls also start preparing for the day's routine like husking of grains after the departure of the boy friends.

It is quite natural that pre-marital sex is possible in the dormitory, which sometimes leads to pregnancy. Among the Dongria Kondh pre-marital pregnancy is never regarded as a social offence. Instances of pregnancies in the dormitory were few in the past as the girls used indigenous herbal medicines. But, now such pregnancies are more often occurring and the girls are now going to the medical centre at Basam-Cuttack for abortion. Besides, the problem arises, when a particular girl who is already betrothed to some other boy becomes pregnant. Such

incidents lead to loss of life and intra-clan and inter-clan feuds. Besides, when a girl who is previously engaged elopes with her dormitory partner intra-clan and inter-clan feuds also break. A few case studies relevant to this context are discussed below.

Case Study 1: Wadeka Pula, daughter of Wadeka Ranga of village Khambhai was a member of the dormitory. She has been negotiated to a Kadraha boy of village Jangodi. During her membership in the dormitory, there were rumors regarding her sex relationship with many *dhangadha* and in course of time she became pregnant. She told that Kadraha Mandala son of Kadraha Munar of village Kanduballigudar is responsible for this and she came to stay with Mandala's family. This lead to a clan feud between the villagers of Jangodi and Khambhai. The people of Jangodi demanded Rs 40,000 towards the *ritu* but they paid to Pula's family. In turn her family asked Kadraha Mandala to pay the amount and his family paid the amount by incurring a loan. Kadraha Mandala on grief left Kanduballigudar. It is said that he is staying in Assam and saying that he is not responsible for this. She is not a good girl and moving with many boys. Now Wadeka Pula is blessed with a daughter and staying with her parents.

Case Study 2: Jakasha Meneka, daughter of late Jakasha Jagti of village Kurli betrothed to Kadraha Pada of village Bhadruguma. They gave a presentation of two buffaloes, two bottles of alcohol and Rs 7,500 towards bride price. Jakasha Meneka became pregnant in the dormitory by her mate, Wadeka Rela of village Khambhai. Her brother Jakasha Tona was against her marriage to Wadeka Rela since he had received the bride price from Kadraha Pada. Jakasha Tona was angry with her sister and threatened to behead her. The family members with fear sent Jakasha Meneka to her paternal uncle's house as a large *Mundaba*. She was 4 months of pregnancy. She gave birth to a dead child. After that she was brought to Kurli. Her brother returned the bride price. She waited for Wadeka Rela to take her as a wife. But he never visited her and kept quiet. Jakasha Meneka in her grief did not take food, became weak day after day and at last died.

Case Study 3: Sakrika Beri, 25 years old, belongs to village Bhadruguma. Her parents died when she was a child. She came to stay in village Khajuri with her paternal uncle. She was negotiated for marriage with Wadeka Laba son of Wadeka Beri of village Khajuri who at that time was reading in the Kurli residential school. He was also engaged with more girls. After completing the school, he left for Pune in course of his stay at Pune he fell in love with a non-tribe girl. His parents when got this news brought her back to the village.

Meanwhile, Beri became pregnant in course of her dormitory life. She was sent to Wadeka Laba's house. But Laba denied to accept her and left the village unnoticed. It is heard that Laba is in Kerala and had got married. Now Sakrika Beri is blessed with a child and living at her father-in-law's house.

Case Studies on Inter-Clan & Intra-Clan Feuds

Case Study 1: One Nauka Kelang of village Hingabali was negotiated to Jakasha Buruchi of village Mundabali. The bridegroom's parents had not given any kind of bride-price. In the meanwhile the Jakasha Buruchi fell in love with Wadeka

Barango in course of his visit to the dormitory at village Mandaballi. She became pregnant and eloped with Wadeka Barango. In consequence, it provoked the Jakasika to avenge the Wadeka. It was on one market day held at Chatkoma, both the clan groups were front to front, all heavily drunken. They attacked each other and many of them from both the sides were injured. At this point, the Jakasika men threw one Nsika boy of Ilungaballi under a moving train. Luckily, he escaped death with serious injuries. He was admitted to the hospital at Hissam Cutack and remained there for one month. The dispute became more acute as the recent act of violence remained fresh in their minds. Nsika clan waited for the revenge. However, the matter was somehow settled by the intervention of the then Special Officer Dimgrie Kondh Development Agency preventing further bloodshed. Wadeka group paid Rs 2000/- to the Nsika group and the case was settled.

Case Study 2. Wadeka Nabaghana B smajhi of village Khambasi was a regular visitor of the dormitory at village Harame in Bisam-Cuttack block. There, he fell in love with the daughter of Mandika Pakuru Jaru. However, the girl was engaged formerly to a Pusika boy of village Dongman in Sangupur block. Wadeka Nabaghana brought that Mandika girl to his village Khambasi. The Pusika Kinsmen came in groups to village Khambasi and attacked Wadeka Nabaghana's house. They took the girl back to village Dongman to her in-laws house. However, there she stayed for about 2 ½ months from where Wadeka Nabaghana again brought her to Khambasi. He paid the penalty money amounting to Rs 9000/- to the Pusika Kinsmen. But, the Pusika Kinsmen still awaited the opportunity for taking revenge.

Case Study 3. One Jakasika Kasadi, daughter of Jakasika Jangu, of village Kurli was negotiated to Kadraha Babru of village Kadrahundeli at an early childhood. He had made a customary payment of two buffaloes, two tins of alcohol and Rag towards bride price. Jakasika Kasadi after maturity began to visit the dormitory where she developed intimacy with one Kadraha Sukila of village Khambasi. She eloped with him. Her parents brought her back and sent her to in-law's house at village Kurli. One night, Jakasika Kasadi escaped from her in-law's house and came to her relative's house at village Niskabondeli. From there, she sent information to her lover Kadraha Sukila to take her away. Accordingly, he brought Jakasika Kasadi to his village Khambasi and informed her husband Kadraha Babru to take the amount of compensation for the loss of the bride and the amount spent by him in connection with the marriage negotiation. However, he and his clansmen did not accept the offer, they wanted to collect it from the girl's parents whom they had paid.

Thus, the issue turned to a feud between Jakasika and Kadraha clan groups. The matter was referred to the Police Station at Sangupur by Kadraha clan. Since Sukila belonged to Kadraha clan, Kadraha Babru happens to be his brother and it was illegal to take away brother's wife. This enraged Kadraha Babru's parents. The villagers of Khambasi (Wadeka Mutha) supported to Kadraha Sukila. Thus about 30-40 persons from Khambasi village and about 00 persons belonging to 7-8 Kadraha villages met at the Police Station with arms and when both the clan groups were about to unleash a fight, some educated youths from village Khambasi and the Ward member Wadeka Madan interfered and tried to settle the matter.

amicably. Kadraha Babru's claim men demanded Rs 50,000/- from the girl's parents which at last agreed for Rs 18,000/-. It was decided on a meeting held at DKDA office Hatikora in the presence of a Police S.I. MPW of Bondeli and some members from village Khambas and Kurl. A written document was prepared and it was finalized that half of the amount i.e. Rs 9000/- each had to be borne by the girl's parent and by Kadraha Sukka of village Khambas. But at last Kadraha Babru's family did not take the amount in anticipation that the same incident might recur in future. Every girl from their village did the same mistake.

Thus, the case studies illustrate the nature and involvement of the kinsmen in the combats. Nayak remarks rightly that feuds occur in the wider network of kinship relations, social customs and practices and, although these were terminated sooner or later, that was only for a temporary period, for the kinship relationship and social customs associated with it may at future press for a fresh feud.

There is a natural desire among the youth to attend the dormitory. The parents do not interfere with the life and discipline of the dormitory. Rather they motivate their boys to visit the dormitory which make them fit for acquiring a life partner and having a family. The following case study is relevant in this context.

Case Study 1: One Wadela Pradeep, son of Wadela Rangra, belong to village Khambas. Being shy even at the age of fifteen was not attending the dormitory. Frequently his mother was telling him, 'how could you manage with your future wife if you did not attend the girls' dormitory'. Wadela Pradeep was negotiated to a Kadraha girl belonging to village Bondeli under the constant pressure from her mother, he went to attend the dormitory at village Panchakodi along with other boys. In course of his stay, he developed intimacy with one Sukoka girl of the dormitory who had been engaged to a Kadraha boy belonging to village Tebapada. The Kadraha boy had brought another wife who was also blessed with children. He had not taken the Sukoka girl until then. But, when he heard the news regarding the affair, he captured the girl and took her to his village, Tebapada. But the girl was unwilling to stay with him. One day she escaped and went to her relation's house at Khambas and continued keeping relationship with Wadela Pradeep. Her in-laws again forcibly took her back. At this instance, she sent information to Wadela Pradeep to elope her otherwise she would take poison. On an appointed day, he brought the girl to his house. This led to clan feuds between the Kadraha and Sukoka kinsmen involving village Tebapada and village Panchakodi. The people of Tebapada harassed the people of Panchakodi by destroying their cattle, birds, attacking the houses, beating the people etc. This feud did not take further violent form due to the intervention of the school teachers of both the villages who helped settle the matter amicably. It was decided that the girl's father would pay Rs 12,000/- to the boy's father towards the penalty (*daipu*). The girl's father in turn demanded the amount from his son-in-law Wadela Pradeep. He paid Rs 9,000/- to the people of Tebapada village and the matter was finalized with this amount. Now Pradeep is having a son and is living happily. But the Wadela kinsmen of village Khambas were still waiting for an opportunity to get back the amount from the Kadraha clan's people of village Tebapada. Thus, though it seems that the

conflict has come to an end. In reality, it exists in their minds as the Dongria view and value the clan solidarity more than anything else.

Besides the cases narrated above, quarrels over the dormitory girls are also frequent between the Dongria Kondh clan groups.

Case Study : One Salia, Bismayhi, son of Jaha, Bismayhi was attending the dormitories regularly in villages, Sutaranga and Gogala even after his marriage. One day one Salia, Bisma, he came to the girls' dormitory of village Gogala and saw one Lumba Pu, an sleeping with the girl whose Sahala name was Dundibani with whom he had slept previously. He became furious and abused the girl. Her friends told that she was perhaps in love with Lumba. Pujan who entered the girl with some magic. This added fire to his anger. He along with his friends awaited for the opportunity to take revenge. One day when Lumba was on his way to his village with a piglet, Salia and his friends caught hold of him, beat and snatched the piglet. Later they killed it, roasted and consumed. Lumba came to the village and told the incident to the villagers. The village council meeting was called. Salia and his friends were fined with an amount of Rs.20/- and a tin of wine. A village feast was arranged to bring about a mutual reconciliation between Lumba and Salia.

Rules and Regulations of Dormitory .

- The dormitory members maintain strict secrecy of their activities inside the dormitory.
- Outsiders (other than the Dongria Kondh) are not allowed to enter the dormitory.
- The dormitory girls belong to more than one clan and sub-clan groups.
- Selection of mates in the dormitory is governed by rules of clan exogamy and village exogamy.
- The boy once betrothed to a girl is not allowed to attend the dormitory in which the girl is a member. But each is independent to keep relationship with any other youth of the opposite sex.
- Partnership changes from time to time in some cases.
- When a girl's parents shift to another village she joins the dormitory of that village may retain her original dormitory name or may be given a new name.
- The girls are given dormitory names after attending the dormitory for two to three years.
- Visitors from other dormitories are always given warm reception.
- A boy visitor from another village is given a partner for the night.
- Often the girls put the boys to test by physically assaulting them.
- A boy or a girl without having put on his/her traditional dress is not allowed to enter the dormitory.

Dormitory Feud

Customarily the Dongria Kondh clannemen or lineage-men make gifts of swidden land called *Kumbadi* to the dormitory girls. They cultivate the land and

the produce is kept in the dormitory. Besides, *dhongduts* form their own labour cooperative called *da-ahv brade* earn some money by working in the farm of their fellow villagers. During agricultural season they work in farms and fields of a number of Dongna families. Each family for this labour gives the team food two times a day and a token money of Rs 10- to 20-. This money is also kept in their dormitory fund. Moreover, in marriage ceremonies they also collect money for rendering customary services. They spend this money and produce of grain on the occasion of the visits of dance parties of *dhongduts* to their dormitories/villages, especially on many a festive occasion in the off-season. Every occasion is celebrated with a feast to which they also invite all their family members. They make provision to serve buffalo meat and rice on these festive occasions.

Retirement from the Dormitory

A member ceases to continue in the dormitory after she gets married. No specific function is observed during the retirement period. However, the departing member is given a traditional *shawl (Gowdu)* and two or three packets of *dhongi* and is entertained with a feast.

Functions of Dormitory

Collective behaviour and group action are found inbuilt the Dongna Kondh social structure. It is the institution of youth dormitory that regulates the interpersonal relationships between men and women a great deal. It strengthens social unity, cohesiveness and solidarity, even if for the dormitory maiden often fights enure between groups.

Social functions

- The Dongna Kondh dormitory plays an important role in regulating the inter-village and inter-clan relationships.
- The institution helps to maintain community as well as group solidarity as the youth work together during their stay in the dormitory.
- It facilitates the socialization of the Dongna youth and inculcates in them a sense of status relationship with junior senior considerations. The young girls once enter the dormitory are taught by the seniors how to obey their superior about their cultural and customary practices and the code of conduct.
- By providing sleeping accommodation for the young girls, it relieves the burden of the parent's sharing the same room with their grown-up children, as the dwellings are only one roomed. They want their children, irrespective of boy and the girl to be independent.
- In social functions like marriage ceremonies, the dormitory members in groups work from the beginning to end. At the early phase of marriage, they accompany the girl during her courtesy visit to her relatives and villages. Further through them the invitation for marriage is sent to the relatives. They form dancing parties in bridal processions on marriages and also in festive occasions. Besides, on the day of marriage, (*gria-arpa*) the dormitory girls bring water in seven vessels and keep these over burning

hearths constructed earlier in front of the house. The water from these pots with turmeric paste is used to give a bath to the boy friends of the groom who have reached the bride's house in advance. The boys in turn put some coins in a leaf plate, which the dormitory girls take. The bride is also given a nusa bath after the girls apply turmeric to her. The make-up of the bride like putting ornaments etc. is also done by her dormitory girl friends.

- The same procedure is also repeated on the fourth day of the marriage at the groom's village in which the dormitory girls of that village perform the required rites and render necessary services to the bride's friends and in return get a token money.
- Acquiring mates by capture is part of the marriage practices among the Dongria Kondh. In case of a capture, the girl's parents and relatives do not speak out their mind rather they keep quiet. It is the dormitory girls who collect information from their dormitory-visitor friends and try to rescue her.⁷
- The dormitory also helps in slower development of the young girls awakening sexual curiosity to be satisfied step by step.⁸
- It is an important centre of recreation for the youth.
- Thus, the institution of dormitory has a pervasive social role to play towards initiating the growing generation to know and cope with the customs and traditions of their society.

Educative function

- In the dormitory, the younger members learn from their elders discipline, social approbation and justice, reciprocity of obligations, customary laws of their own society. Besides, through folktales, folk stories, riddles and narration of past events they become able to know the relations between efforts and rewards, between crime and punishment.
- The dormitory is a forum where they learn how to regulate sex, have successful conjugal life. The seniors provide tips on sex education.
- Lessons on various agricultural operations and other minor economic pursuits are imparted in the dormitory through songs and mimetic dances depicting them.
- Besides, the dormitory mates get the scope to learn the rhythms of dance and music, and techniques of making art and crafts, often by imitating the seniors. It serves as a centre for preserving the cultural heritage and folk tradition, in addition to transmitting the same from generation to generation.

Economic function:

- The dormitory members form labour co-operatives known as *da she bhar*. The group work in Podu fields of the landowning households for which they get food two times a day and some money as token remuneration.
- Besides, each member works in her allotted Podu plot.
- Thus dormitories help in providing training to the youths in different economic pursuits. It is observed that the Dongria Kondh houses are homes

for the married couples and their smaller children. The life and interest of the youth centres round the dormitory.

Persistence and Change

The Dongria dormitories are functioning as living institutions forming the centre of chief attractions for the youth. They have survived the challenges of time and all external and internal forces acting on them. The dormitories are still found well maintained and well attended. The dormitory rules and disciplines are followed quite earnestly. However, in recent years the educated youth are averse to follow the dormitory traditions and practices.

The Dongria Kondh are under the impact of development and change. More and more outside contact and exposure to mass media have registered some changes in their socio-cultural life. The Dongria villages on the Niyamgiri hills are no more inaccessible. The two Micro Projects set-up in the Niyamgiri hills have brought about significant changes in the socio-economic life and living of the people. With the establishment of residential as well as non-residential educational institutions and non-formal education centres in the Dongria villages by the development agency, education has made some progress among the Dongria Kondh. In villages, where educational institutions are located and which are at close proximity to urban areas, some boys in particular have now started a movement voicing against the continuance of the dormitory organizations. It started from the village Khamben and now spreading to other villages. The Khamben Yabak Singh organized meetings involving youths and parents of other villages and discussed the demerits of the dormitory life and its adverse effect on the youth. Some of the demerits as pointed out by these youngmen are discussed below.

- The intra and inter clan feuds that often takes place among the Dongria is mostly due to the practice of their dormitory life. According to their custom, in most cases, the negotiation for marriage of a girl takes place at a very early age much before she attends the dormitory. Later while attending the dormitory if she falls in love with some other dormitory mate and in course of time get eloped, then, such a situation gives rise to quarrel and conflict between the girl's family and the family of the boy to whom she has been engaged from her childhood. That eventually leads to a serious clan feud resulting in murder and heavy financial loss to both the groups.
- In the Dongria society pre-marital pregnancy is not considered as an offence. Even the in-laws accept the bride saying that she has brought the *Mamar baya*. Since pre-marital pregnancy is attributed to dormitory living these young boys are no more in favour of continuance of such an institution. Now they do not like to marry girls who are pregnant before marriage. Recently there are instances where the girls have faced problems due to their pre-marital pregnancy. Such cases have been discussed in the foregoing chapter.
- They opine that due to the prevalence of the dormitory institution in villages the parents are least bothered about the marriage of their grown up girls.

They believe that the girl will select her own mate during her dormitory living. But the girls who fail to get a suitable match while in dormitory grow older year by year and remain spinsters, life long.

- Similarly, if a boy already engaged to a girl at an early age elopes another abhugan while attending the dormitory and does not accept the girl whom he has betrothed as his second wife, the girl cannot marry and has to remain a spinster unless and otherwise some one proposes her. Such conflicting situations sometimes lead to clan feuds.
- According to their customary rule, even after marriage a boy can attend the dormitory but not the girl. Now, the young wives disapprove this practice and do not like their husbands attending the dormitory. In case, the husband attends the dormitory against the consent of the wife, quarrel and conflict takes place between the spouses that results in divorce. Recently, one such case is reported in the village Khamban.

Case Study: Wadeka Jambu, 10 years old, daughter of Wadeka Gamba of village Khamban married to Jakasika Bhuma of village Kurli. However, it was all right for a period of 1-4 months of their marriage. The problem started when Jakasika Bhuma began to attend the dormitory. There were frequent quarrels over this between the husband and wife. It was so acute that one day without any information Wadeka Jambu left Kurli and came to stay with one of her relatives house at village Sangpur. After 3 months Jakasika Bhuma got the news of her stay went to meet her. But she denied going with him. Rather, she returned to her parents home at village Khambasi. Now she is continuing as a dormitory member. Her husband had brought another widow as a wife.

- Due to cultural contact and growing of awareness, at present, they feel that the un-married boys and girls should no longer sleep together in the dormitory and mix freely which is not found in the neighbouring societies. Therefore, they consider such practice as a shameful and uncivilized act.
- The other important reason for abolishing the dormitory institution is the lack of interest among the young boys and girls towards education. Although, schools are functioning in this area, the enrolment position of the school is very low added with large scale absenteeism and dropout. This is because of the fact that boys and girls remain frequently absent from the schools due to their attraction towards the dormitory life. Therefore, they feel that unless until the dormitory organization is closed the enrolment position specifically of the girls in schools will not be improved and dropout and absenteeism can not be checked.

The above issues were discussed in the meeting attended by persons of different Dongria villages, where two views were emerged. Persons belonging to Kurli & P. were in favour of closing down the dormitory institution while others belonging to villages like Nuskabundeli, Tenda, Dhangadi, Bahugamma, etc. advocated in favour of the continuance of this institution. However, the groups that were against the dormitory threatened the other group of dire consequences if they continue to visit the dormitory in future. Accordingly, they in small groups kept watch over different dormitory at night and the visitors to the dormitory are caught hold of and assaulted by cutting their hairs forcibly. As a result of confrontation

between two groups, there were an atmosphere of panic and fear among the youths and dormitories were remained un-attended for about six months. However the forcible closure of dormitories could not be continued for a longer period. Generally, more and more youths, particularly the *dhungadis* could not resist their desire for attending the dormitory and created public opinion in their favour for revival of the dormitory institution. They started attending the dormitory and now the group, which opposed the continuance, has become a non-entity. Under such agitation, the dormitories in the village Kuth were broken. Now these are functioning in Dhapas.

Conclusion

The dormitory organization, *da shi bada* is an important traditional social institution of the Dongria Kondh. In spite of incursions of modernity the institution is still found in an active state. People value all its functioning in the greater interest of the community. It serves as a centre for socializing young and unmarried girls and their boy friends shaping their personality structures. Dormitories teach them how to behave and act conforming to the prescribed cultural norms and standards. They become instrumental in upholding the value of societal living and intra and inter-group relationship on the basis of mutual help and co-operation. They inculcate this value in the minds of young children, the fast growing future youth. The dormitory goes on in all respects young and able bodied and they form a vibrant sub-population, the source of strength of the village community. The dormitory organization also serves as a matrimonial agency providing opportunity to the unmarried boys and girls to select their life partners. A girl after her tenure of apprenticeship in dormitory comes out an ideal Dongria woman capable of efficiently managing her own conjugal family and handling any on-ward situation in life.

The educated Dongria youth, in recent years have become scornful of its continuance and have raised their voice against it, admonishing the practice. Notwithstanding this, the positive values of the institution of youth dormitory are being held in high esteem by the people. Being an important social organization, its continuance is considered essential as it could be tapped in a very modest way for bringing about economic development of the people. Taking the help of this institution improvement of female literacy could be achieved. Girls' dormitories can be at the same time developed into ideal centres for imparting formal education to the Dongria girls and boys.

Dongria Kondh is characterized by an absence of economic stratification, although economic grades among them are present. Absence of a well-defined division of labour in primitive society does not favour hereditary skill development leading to the formation of artisan classes or guilds. For them spontaneous co-operation in domestic and economic life becomes essential. It is the dormitory organization that imparts the training and enables the children to participate in all spheres of activities, be they social, economic or religious.

The dormitory organization of the Dongria Kondh shows that it is one of the very important institutions which embraces a host of others. Development



Figure 1. A person in a field.



Figure 2. Banana Plantation by Dongra Kendh.

functionaries need to be aware of its utility. The institution is in the process of transformation. But to what extent the transformation is beneficial for the society remains an open question to all. The Dongria Kondh social structure is subject to two opposing forces acting upon it, one for continuity, conservation, apathy for the traditional institution and the other for changes, growing dissatisfaction with the existing conditions, substitution of old values with new.

The tensions generated as a result of such confrontation between the younger generation, one believing in tradition, the other coming under the influence of new systems of education and social intercourse with the outside culture are symptomatic of weakening social solidarity and group strength. Nevertheless, the traditional youth organisations can be mobilized and their potentialities can be harnessed for the betterment of the community.

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Impact of Special Micro Project on the Livelihood of Koria Kordhs

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Introduction:

The tribal communities possess a wide range of variations, which are manifest in their socio-cultural milieu. Looking at these variations and considering the backwardness (Government of India have designated some of the tribal communities or sections thereof as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). Since the Fifth-Five Year Plan period Government of India have started micro-projects for the development of the PTGs and adopted four criteria for determining the primitiveness of a tribal group. They are: (i) pre-agricultural level of technology and economy; (ii) very low rate of literacy; (iii) declining or near stagnant population; and (iv) general backwardness due to seclusion and consequential archaic mode of living. However, criticisms have been leveled that these micro-projects do not yield the desired result, rather they suffer from a lot of structural, financial and managerial crises. This paper on the one hand provides the general ethno-cultural profile of Primitive Tribal Groups of Orissa with special reference to the Kordh community and on the other, from empirical study findings, it critically analyses the impact of special micro-project on the life and livelihood of the *Kania Kordhs* of Burwanathpur block.

There were fifty-two macro-projects on the eve of the Fifth Plan period distributed over 14 States of India. During the Sixth Plan period another 20 more such projects have been established and later on 3 other projects have been launched. Thus, presently there are a total of 76 micro-projects, functioning in India, which cover a total population of 14 lakh. These micro-projects are receiving funds from Government of India in the form of Special Central Assistance (S.C.A.) on cost-percent basis. Up to the end of Ninth Five Year Plan the entire ISP Area, Non-ISP and areas having tribal concentration in the State of Orissa has been divided into 21 Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs) covering 118 number of (1) Blocks and 1* Special Micro Projects for 13 Primitive Tribal Communities, 46 Modified Area Development Agencies, 14 Clusters and dispersed Tribal population of the State. The PTGs of Orissa are *Bonda Puraja, Chutia Bhuiyia, Dandri, Ithurgaria, Kandiha, Hal, Kharia, Jang, Koria, Aomih, Lanna, Saura, Lontha, Mundurda, Birhor, Pando, Bhuiyan and Saura*. These groups have differences with each other which are reflected in their language, political organisation, economy and socio-cultural life. However, these communities have similarities amongst them as regards their dependency on the nature for livelihood and in adherence to nature-spirit complexes. Almost all these

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communities are divided into certain sub-groups who reside on hills-tops and hill slopes.

While undertaking the fieldwork for the research project on the functioning of FRBs Schedule of the Constitution in the State of Orissa through various appropriate State level agencies in respect of the welfare and development of the weaker sections, particularly the Scheduled Tribes (Report submitted to ICSSR, 2001), the study tried to collect data on the functioning and impact of Kaula Kumbha Development Agency (KKDA) of Langgarh. The data have been collected both from primary and secondary sources. The primary data as regards the impact of the project have been collected from one project village named as Rengapali in Langgarh Gram Panchayat, whereas, the secondary data have been collected from the office of KKDA at Langgarh and from the SC and ST Welfare Department of the State.

II. Socio-Cultural Profile of the Kaula in Orissa

The Kaula are one of the 62 Scheduled Tribes of Orissa. They have highest numerical strength and spatial coverage. They are also found beyond the boundaries of the State of Orissa. The Kaula are largely distributed across the districts of Phulbani, Jajpur, Bolangir and Koraput (a undivided district). These districts in the past were ruled under the reign of Jajpur and Chhumbur. It was the British who established a treaty with them first during late 18th century. There are five main sub-groups of the Kaula, namely the Mariah Kaula who live in Phulbani and west of Jajpur district, the Kaula Kaula who live in certain pockets of Phulbani (undivided), the Jangra Kaula who live in the Niyangiri hill ranges of the Koraput and Kalahandi (a undivided district), the Padaria Kaula or Kula Kaula who inhabit in the plains of Niyangiri hill ranges, and the Devra Kaula the associated groups of the Mariah Kaula who live in Central Kalahandi, Bolangir, Dhenkanal and Boudh.

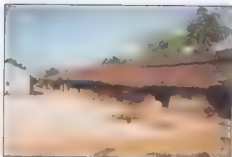
The Kaula are numerically a dominant tribe of Orissa. They have a total population of 49746 (57.8% males and 56252 females) who account for 17.5 per cent of the total Scheduled Tribe population of the State (1991 census of India). The female population outnumber the male (1000). The tribe had a growth rate of 7.9 per cent in 1991 which increased to 2.38 per cent in 98. The literacy among the Kaula was 7.14 per cent during 1961 which has increased to 39.7 per cent during 97 and to 40.218 per cent during 1991. As per 1991 figures the male literacy among Kaula was 21.7 per cent and that of female was only 3.32 per cent, which is much below the State average. As per 1991 census of India there are only 2127 Kaula people who have completed their higher secondary education among whom the male account 856 and female account 277 whereas there are only 355 Kaulas who have not technical diploma or certificate not equivalent with degree which are only 42 Kaula women. The literacy position in Chhidaigarh, one of the Kaula dominated blocks in Kandhamal district with a large Christianised Kaula population, does not reflect a better trend. Among Kaula males of this block the literacy was 38.69 per cent in 1961, which increased to 42.63 per cent in 1971 and to 50.49 per cent in 1991. Similarly among the female population of the block it was 7.31, 14.36 and 21.2 per cent during the years of 1961, 1971 and

1981 respectively. The achievement of literacy among the *Kondh* of this block is due to large-scale conversion to Christianity during the period between 1861-1951 which has facilitated the availability of, and access to educational, and other social sector institutions. However, only 120 per cent of *Kondh* population in Orissa have been classified as Christian and 90.26 per cent of the *Kondh* have enumerated them selves as Hindus (1981, Census of India).

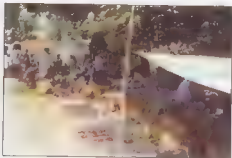
The environment influences the settlement pattern and style of living of *Kondh* people. Because of the segmentary character the *Kondh* people even today by and large maintain their autonomous character in social organisation. This is one of the major reasons as to why there is certain congruence between their economy and socio-cultural life. Traditionally the *Kondh* economy was solely based on crude agricultural practices on the hills as well as in the plains, supplemented by forest products, and livestock rearing. Studies have been carried out at different points of time on various aspects of *Kondh* economy, particularly on *poda* cultivation, highlighting its various dimensions, such as the cropping pattern, division of labour, pattern of land use and control, cycle of cultivation, physical losses of soil and erosion of macro-nutrients etc. (Risley 1891:409, Mac Person, 1946; Pattnaik, 1972-73; Choudhury, 1999:121; Pathy 1982). Banerjee's study (1977) among the *Kondh* explains that clan membership is a normative condition of holding and exploiting land in the clan territory of *Kondh* society. This practice, by and large, still prevails in spite of the introduction of individual ownership in *Kondh* dominated areas. Some caste categories, such as the *Pano* and *Dome* living within *Kondh* villages for generations, do not find any difficulty in establishing economic, political and religious collaborations with *Kondh* people. The *Kondh* refer to them as exploiters, land grabbers and unscrupulous money lenders (Pattnaik, 1992; Baul, 1982; Padel, 1995).

III. Special Micro Projects among the *Kondh* of Orissa

Considering the backward characteristics of both the region and of the sections of *Kondh* people Government of Orissa has started two different Micro Projects for the Dongria *Kondh*s and two for the *Kutia Kondh*s. Of these projects, two micro projects were commenced during 1972-79 (23 years ago), one was started during 1986-87 (15 years ago), whereas the fourth one was started during 1987-88 (14 years ago). These four micro projects together cover 14145 *Kondh* people in 198 villages, which are distributed over five blocks in three districts. The Baryaganj hill range of the State surrounds these villages. The schemes implemented for the upliftment of the PIGs through Micro Projects can be categorised, mainly as Land-based Schemes, which include promotion of horticulture, agriculture and conservation, provision of dug well, pisciculture, tank fishery, supply of pump sets etc. Animal Husbandry Schemes include dairy, poultry, fishery, goatery, piggery development units, etc. The non-agricultural schemes popularly implemented in the project villages are cycle repairing shops, supply of rickshaws, bullock carts, sewing machines etc. With little variation these micro projects normally invest more funds in agriculture and horticulture development, on education and health programmes as well.



Kuta Kondh Village



Kuta Kondh Village Market

Resource profile of the village

The village is composed of five hamlets which are located in low-lying wet rice agricultural areas. The hamlets are situated along the main road which connects the village to the nearest town, 17 km away. The main road is a dirt road and is in poor condition. The village is located in a low-lying area and is surrounded by rice fields. The village is located in a low-lying area and is surrounded by rice fields. The village is located in a low-lying area and is surrounded by rice fields.

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Sources of livelihood

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Harvesting Jaro (Minor Millet) by Kusa Kondh



Kusa Kondh Banava Plantation

cases for cotton cultivation. Similarly 45 HHHs have also received bank loan during that year for various purposes. Of the total loan amount of Rs 2,28,900 for agriculture and Rs 20,000 for land development the tribal people have returned only Rs 20,000.

Development Intervention by the micro project

As a part of the agricultural programme the Micro-Project has supplied insecticides, pesticides, seeds for groundnut, paddy, vegetables, wheat, peas, adzuki, mung and horticulture saplings to the Kutor Kandha at regular intervals. Apart from these agricultural implements, one spade and one iron hoe have been supplied by the micro project to all the Kutor Kandha HHHs in the village during 1995-96. The villagers in Kengapalli admitted that compared to other non-project villages they are cultivating more vegetables, other cash crops and very few households are practising rice cultivation. Since 1995 the project has introduced the cultivation of various vegetables like banana, potato, peas, chrysanthemum, brinjal etc. The project has made immense impact for introducing modern agriculture implements, use of fertilizers and introduction of plough and cultivation. As a result of this some Kutor households have started using these modern agricultural practices in their fields. However, the plight with the people and the project is that this intervention over the time has developed a dependency syndrome on the part of the people. As a result, the lead Kutor farmers are always looking at the project for providing these modern agricultural inputs as no effort has been made for capacity building of Kutor Kandha farmers to independently practise modern agriculture and horticulture.

The use of bio-fertilizer and locally adapted agricultural inputs should have been provided by the micro project. In order to preserve the germ plasma the micro project could have explored the tribal treasure of various crops. But at certain level, justifies that the micro project could not contribute in building self-maintaining development processes in the agriculture sector.

The infrastructure development in the village so far made by different agencies includes construction of one Anganwadi sub-center (1999) by the block, construction of monalghat (Kothaghat) a community house building by the micro project (1999), village drain by gram panchayat (1990) and three tube wells. The connection for the supply of electricity to the village though made during the year 1955, no current has yet been supplied. JABR an NGO has supplied a solar battery during the year 1998 and 45 households have been given connection to use one 40 watt bulb. The village has a perennial stream which has not been tapped properly by the project but the villagers are using the water of the down stream for agriculture purposes. Since the development of agriculture is largely dependent on the development of irrigation, utilization of the semi-perennial streams of the village will promote good agriculture. Agriculture can be made sustainable and profitable if such water resources are tapped and if the beneficiaries are properly trained as regards the use of modern agricultural inputs.

Medicines for common diseases like cough, cold, malaria, dysentery, fever have been distributed in the village but now-a-days distribution of medicines by the project both in quantity and frequency has been reduced. The villagers avail

health services from Government hospital at Langurich, which is located at a distance of 6 kms. However the hospital does not function regularly. During our fieldwork we observed that a *Kandha* named *Vaitha Bhaji* (age 40 years) of Bhangapada village was attacked by a bear in 2000, and was brought to this hospital after 14 hours but died due to the lack of required medical service facilities. Though the doctors have been posted in the hospital, they are staying at Bhangapada PIR or outside. The visit of ANM to the village is twice a year while the VAW more or less does not visit the village. One ambulance has been provided by JNS to this hospital, which has been kept idle and thus is non-functional. This has encouraged the private practitioners to monopolize the delivery of health services through an exploitative manner. The poor illiterate *Kandha* males are the victim of this sort of situation. Intervention of the project in the health sector seems to be inadequate and inappropriate. The project authorities very well know the fact that tribal people continue to depend on their traditional methods of treatment. In spite of the Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs) have not been provided with training and equipments to upgrade their skill regarding basic health care practice. Therefore the knowledge of *Kandha* *Kandha* women with regard to health care services, mother-child related programmes and family welfare measures are largely traditional. This at certain level indicates that neither the project, nor generate a demand among the *Kandha* *Kandha* for the convergence of the health care services from the JNS department, nor strengthened the traditional health recovery mechanisms of the *Kandha*, rather the project prefers more to depend on its limited resources.

As regards the empowerment of *Kandha* *Kandha* women the project has not built up systematic processes of empowerment. As a result, *Kandha* women of the village still feel shy and are reluctant to interact with outsiders. The so-called extension methods adopted by the micro-project authorities to implement agricultural and horticultural demonstration programmes is basically targeted to cater to the needs of mostly *Kandha* males but less so the *Kandha* females. The project staff (among whom all are male) are less efficient in undertaking gender based programmes. Unlike the advisor made in WDA at Kural to involve *Thangurich* *Kandha* women in project activities through women's cooperatives, the KJDA at Langurich has not organized *Kandha* women at any stage because none of the programmes is specifically women-centric. As a result of this, even after more than ten years of development interventions, the micro-project could not build the empowerment processes among the *Kandha* women. This at certain level reflects the non-holistic approach adopted by the Micro Project.

Bhangapada village does not have a primary school. The Government neighbouring primary level situated at Bhangapada 2 kms away from the village, is supposed to cover all the govt-aided students of this village. Practically in tribal areas to cover a distance of 2 kms in both ways to attend primary school is not an encouraging factor for the people. Keeping this in view, the micro-project has started one *halwad* centre in the village for the pre-school children, but since one Mahila Panchayat Worker (MPW) of the micro-project works in three villages, and mentions other project activities and reports about the progress to the project office it is not possible for her to be regular at the *halwad* center. However, the resource constraints and lack of proper planning in prioritizing peoples' needs on the part of the Micro-Project authorities are the retarding factors. They have classified the

children of Rengapalli village with the *Bulwood* center of Banastapada village. As a result, the attendance of the Kutia *Kandha* children from this village in different classes is dismal. Even the Project has not yet started adult education programme in the village. Non-payment of salary has de-motivated the project staff and this has grossly affected the implementation of various programmes of the Micro Project.

During the discussion with the lead Kutia farmers and Ward Member of the village it could be ascertained that very little or almost no attempt has been made by the Project Authorities to make the villagers conscious of the anti-exploitative regulations. The Project Authorities have not rightly empowered the village Panchayat representatives for local governance. As a result, the members of the Panchayat Raj Institutions are found ignorant of various on-going welfare activities, particularly about the food security programmes of the government. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for which the exploitative traps of the moneylenders still revolve in and around the Kutia villages. As a result, the long-term objective of the Micro-Project to make the Kutia *Kandha* free from exploitative chains and to develop the capacity of the tribal people have not been fulfilled. In this respect, Kutia women are much behind. Whatever programmes have been launched for the women these could not empower them in true sense.

It has been found that lack of supervision by the Project authorities has negatively affected the overall implementation of the Project activities. It has been observed that the Project suffers because funds are not released on time. The Project Authorities agree that lack of adequate funds has affected the nature, quality and frequency of interventions made by the Project over the years. Though the Micro Project is specially meant for the development of the primitive tribal groups, in practice over the years, the Project has suffered from shortage of funds, irregular release of funds and bad fiscal management. As a result, whatever inputs have been supplied as regards institutional credit, training in improved dry land farming, demonstration of multiple crops and dissemination of knowledge on crop diversification could not yield much result among the tribal beneficiaries. Lack of technical expertise with the Micro Project and the inability to mobilize the technical hands from the line-departments have also resulted in bad technical follow-ups, and whenever the agro-based programmes for these people are introduced on demonstration basis, these have never become sustainable as per the objectives.

Conclusion .

It is observed that the *Kandha* are living in special ecological and physical conditions. The natural resources offer special livelihood potentialities to them and which shape their culture. It has been observed that the special Micro Project has failed to articulate with the strength and potentialities of the Kutia *Kandha*. This is partly reflected in the annual action plan of the special Micro Project, which has not reflected the resource strength and opportunities of the area and of the Kutia *Kandha*. The authorities of these Projects, by and large, have never thought of associating the Kutia in the planning process, rather they have imposed various tailor-made plans (with little adjustment), in different sectors. The Project Authorities prepare action plans objectively being less conscious of the needs of

the people and local resource bases utilize by people. Implementation of various development programmes along with the flow of inconsistent and unplanned allotments at certain level largely justifies that the Micro Project has overlooked the importance of using indigenous resources of the people and of the area.

The Micro Project should have specific time-planning and measuring indicators for the withdrawal and or closer from a particular Project Area. It has been observed that the Micro Project at Lanjigarh is being implemented for more than one decade without any expansion of geographical and demographic coverage.

In order to revive the speciality of the Project the Project Authorities while taking into account the local resource strength of the community and of the area, the capability and the needs of the beneficiaries should develop a time bound development plan. This should incorporate the empowerment processes both within and outside the community and making sustainable the resource base of the area by way of converging the resources of various development agencies in a more integrated and co-ordinated manner.

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Scheduled Tribe and Forgotten Kings Ethnohistory of the Joria Paraja in the erstwhile Nandapur-Jeypore Kingdom

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The Paraja group is considered as one of the many Scheduled Tribe residing in the Koraput District of Southern Orissa. Its relative regional fame is partly due to the novel Paraja, published in Orissa in 1945 by Gopinath Mohanty and translated into English in 1987. Administratively speaking, the Joria are included in the larger group of the Paraja. Two years ago, we planned to study the Joria Paraja from different for a better understanding of the historical process, we follow generally the geographical and chronological order crossing ancient administrative divisions viewpoints. In order to reach a more comprehensive view of this group, it seemed necessary to proceed our study with a preliminary historical and general enquiry. The analysis of the successive descriptions of this group has been a way to understand the present Joria Paraja identity. This clarification helped us to reconstruct their situation in the former local context. This article presents this enquiry, from a presentation of the various descriptions of the Joria Paraja, to a reconstruction of their place in the former local kingdom of Jeypore-Nandapur.

1 The Joria Paraja category in the ancient ethnographic reports *

1) the Central Provinces and Bengal Presidency, 2) the Madras presidency (former Vizagapatnam district)

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Different persons helped us in various ways in the field. First of all, Professor P.K. Nayak helped one of us considerably during his first steps in Orissa. In the field, the previous friendship of Shri Bhajay Kumar Padhi Occasioned considerably our enquiries and staying in Nandapur in Jeypore we owe to Mr. Parash Ram Chandra Nanda a lot of informations in the Joria village of Hadapur. We thank our numerous friends among which Raja Khora, Pagar Madan Amstel, nanka and the two gamaria Kamala Khora and Mohi Amstel. We owe most of our informations on the Joria Paraja a legend to Vishnu Siva, Ratna Siva, and Lakshmi Siva from Sarbati and Duvongla. Thanks to all of them.

* Regarding the spelling of the different groups, we write "Joria" following the common pronunciation. Other variants ("Joria", "Jorua") will be given in the first part according to the spelling of the authors quoted. More generally, the names of tribes are used in an invariable form.

1) Joria and Paraja in the former Central Provinces and Bengal Presidency

The first report mentioning "Joria" people is in the notes of the Reverend Stephen Hislop, about the tribes of Bastar.¹ For him, Jona is a synonym for Maria, a section particularly savage of the Gond. He is the first to suggest the etymology from "Jhodi", "brook", "stream".

In 1906, Grierson defines a "Parja" language spoken by the Parja tribe of Bastar.² According to him, the Parja is a dialect of gondi, but some forms are more close to the Bhatia, itself a mixture between Chhattisgarhi Hindi and Oriya.

For F. A. de Bretz, a group called "Jharis" is one of the three, Kewat, Khatik, Khond, Kirat, Kumhar, Kurbi, Kumi, Mahar, Mahi, Nui, Sunar, Teli and Tur.³ After such a list, it seems difficult to identify precisely our Joria Paraja among others.⁴ On the other hand, Russell and Hera Lal give us a precious indication regarding the actual meaning of the "Joria" appellation.

Referring exclusively to the Bastar region, both Grierson⁵ and Elwin (1947) mention the Jona as a subdivision of the Mursia gond living in the North-Central Plains around Chota Dongar (at the foot of the Abujmar hills). According to those authors, the Jona consider themselves as former Hill Maria who settled in the plains. Elwin precises at this occasion that "Joria" refers to "lowlanders" in contrast with their "Hill Maria" neighbours and relatives.

¹ Paper relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces, Rangoon ed., with notes and preface, Nagpur 1886.

² G. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, vol. IV, VI, 1906, Vol IV, p. 554.

Classes of Rawat, but he count also "Jharis" among gond in Anilagarh.⁶ The Parja are here totally distincts from any Jona, and equated with Dharwar, themselves divided in Tagara, Peng, and Mundra, the latter two living in Jeypore area. For the same area, Cobden-Ramsey precises an information about certain Jhora or Jona mentioned briefly by Dalton.⁷ According to him, this group (from alleged Gond origin) was living not only in Chhattisgarh but also in the petty states around Chota Nagpur (Hosur, Barma, Girgaur, Pal Lahara), from gold-washing, boating, and fishing on the Hooghly river.

In 1916, Russell and Hera Lal give a much more complex account of the situation in the Central Provinces. For "Jharis" their glossary refers to "Jhadi" where we find the following statement:

Jhadi, Jhade, Jharis, Jharis, (Jarghi). A name often applied to the oldest residents of a caste in any locality of the Central Provinces. In Betar it is used to designate the Wanganga Valley and adjacent hill ranges. A subcaste of Abir Baras, Rathas, Chamar, Dhangar, Dharwar, Dheba, Gadaria, Goria, Kaprewar, Kasar, Kania. Russell and Hera Lal: The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, London, Vol I and III, 1916: vol. I, p. 369.

⁶ Grierson Wilfrid V. The Maria Gonds of Bastar. Oxford 1938.

2) Joria and Paraja in the Former Madras Presidency

In 1869, Carmichael calls the "Prajās" "the common laboring class of Jeypore"⁷ and compare this name to the Sanskrit term "Praja", "royal". Among this class, the "Jodiya" along with ten other "castes" of Jeypore are said to be born from a deformed king from Hindustan, Nuhadas, who became Lord of the Hill tracts.⁸ In the list given, the "Jodiya" stand between the "yonda" and the "Pangu". Later in his manual Carmichael (and more exactly the List.) Mac Donold Smith for the information regarding Jeypore) give another list, without special comment:

"Malsowra, Barroocowrie, Barungarra, Suroora, Pongowrie, Gadaba, Parangagadaba, Nangwa Pura or ruled yet."

In this list of eight groups, we can see different "jora" and "para" subdivisions. We will find them again more precisely later on.

For Francis, following the Madras census report 1871, the Poroja group is composed of seven different tribes. Those tribes speak now Oriya, but keep sometimes their original language. They can be differentiated as follows: the Barung Jodia Poroja are beef-eater like the Pengu Poroja, but the latter speak a language close to the Kui. The Kondi Poroja are beef-eater, like the Pengu Poroja, but the latter speak a language close to the Kui. The Kundi Poroja are a Khond section, while the Parangi Poroja are a Gadaba section, and the Tagara Poroja (or Thakura) are a Koya section. The Bonda Poroja (or Nanga, or Langla) bear such a name because their women are almost naked, and the Dur Poroja (or Dedayi), lastly, are an Oriya section. According to the author, the Barang Jora or simply Jora, women were characterized by their white cloths, with red belt, and their numerous bracelets on the left arm.⁹ In his Gazetteer of 1945, Bell repeat most of the informations given by Francis.

In the *Castes & Tribes of Southern India*, Thurston and Rangachari quote Carmichael about the origin of the name, and consider that "Paraja" designate "a conglomerate" of cultivators living in the hill tracts of Vizagapatnam and Ganjam districts.¹⁰ They give the now classical seven subdivisions among which we find the "Jodia". In the second volume of their *Castes & Tribes*, however, we find a "Joria" group who has nothing in common with the first one: a subdivision of the Goudo, a pastoral caste living mostly in Ganjam and former Vizagapatnam districts.

⁷ Carmichael 1869, p. 16.

⁸ Carmichael 1869, p. 75. The Nuhada's myth, largely known in India, can be found in the Atharvaveda VIII, and the Valmiki Ramayana.

⁹ Carmichael 1869, p. 103. Malsowra stands for the "hill (and) forest".

¹⁰ Francis 1907, p. 86, and footnote 2.

¹¹ B. Thurston and K. Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, Vol. II, VI, 909. Vol. VI, p. 207-222.

In 1931, G. Ramadas combines together the various information, and speaks about a divided tribe whose "lost language" was certainly Dravidian. He indicates twelve subtribes, but insists on the stronger distinction between Bodo (or Sodia) and Sano (and Joria, and Perangi) Paraja on the basis of beef-eating. According to him, even if those people wear various sorts of cloths, "the white cloth with red bands is the one peculiar to all the classes of the Parajas".³¹

In the years preceding Independence, G. Mohanty offers us a groups within the framework of the Jeypore kingdom:

More recently, in two studies about the Dharwad Parja of Bastar and the Pengo Parja of Koraput, K. N. Thapar recalls the Dravidian origin of the Parja and Pengo languages (respectively more close to the Gondi, and to the Kur languages, according to the works of Burrow and Bhattacharya).³² In a latter work about the Ollar politically committed image of the Parja. As a writer, Mohanty was deeply influenced by Gandhi and the Russian author Tolstoj, and at that time involved in the social & literary according to whom the term means something like "angly" and is a common appellation for the oldest sub-castes and tribes of the area. More accurately than "angly" however, the translation could be rendered by the term "lowlander" (Etiwin), or even more by "people of the valley".³³ The origin of our Joria seems to be local, but we know by different traditions and legends, that some groups connected with the king (like the Rora) accompanied him during the shift of his capital. More close to the Joria, the Pengo Parja are said to have followed a raja from their original abode in the Warangal area (present Andhra Pradesh) to Bastar, before to reach the Jeypore and Kalahandi regions by themselves.³⁴

3) The Parja and Desia languages

The Parja has been identified as the language spoken originally by the "Parja tribe" but was defined differently by Grierson or Burrow and Bhattacharya. If we follow the former the Parja is an Aryan dialect close to the Bhojp, mixing Oriya and eastern forms of Hindi (Halbi, Chhattisgarhi). If we follow the latter it is a Dravidian language more close to the Ollar than to the common gond. It seems to us that the Parja doesn't refer to one language, but to different ones practiced by different groups of Parja. Secondly, one same group is frequently at least bilingual (as G. Pfeiffer insisted upon, since long time). Thirdly, the present language of the Joria Parja of Koraput is the Desia dialect of Oriya.

³¹ G. Ramadas, "Forests", *Man in India*, Vol. XI, no. 3-4, 1931, p. 243-258, p. 246.

³² Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, *The Parja Language: A Dravidian language of Bastar* (1953) The Pengo Language, Oxford University press 1970.

³³ According to a remark of R. Hardenberg, Joria, indeed, evokes an association with a stream.

³⁴ This opinion is supported by different authors who quote the Pengo themselves or their neighbours. In 1909 (p. 46) Thapar (1977, p. 2) (Thapar 1947). According to Thapar, the king concerned is said to be a "Chakultar".

The Desia dialect is generally described as a *lingua franca* spoken in the low "plateau" from Koraput to Bastar. This dialect is mostly a form of Oriya, but show also some elements from Eastern Hindi and some elements from Dravidian languages. As Bell said, fifty years ago, it should be seen less as a corrupt language, than as an ancient and local form of Oriya.

"A number of words are current, which in the old Orissa Division of Bengal had passed out of polite usage years ago. Such words are *gnotia* for husband, *randi* for a widow, *andira* for man, *markina* for woman or wife, and *peiti* for work. The explanation seems to be that the Oriya now spoken in Orissa and Koraput is the form of the language which was generally spoken in Orissa a century ago. The Oriya of Cuttack has been influenced by literary experiments and so has tended to discard words which had humble associations or were considered to be characteristic of the lower classes. Koraput has long been isolated from the influence of modern Oriya literature and has thus retained the old form of the language unchanged."¹⁶

According to Thurns, the Desia was named the "Joria bhasha" in the eastern part of Jeypora kingdom. We can therefore suppose that the present Desia language and culture is the result of the interactions between the various local communities in the ancient royal society. The periodical migrations of Hindi merchants (Bohipari, Baryari) through the kingdom contributed without doubt to the generalisation of the dialect.¹⁷

According to our clarifications, "Jona Parja" appears to mean something like the "peasant citizens of the valleys". The Joria constitute an independent group since long time, sharing numerous characteristics with other local Dravidian groups. Among those latter, the Oilar Gadaba stand apparently closer to the Joris of Nandapur area, with respect to their kinship systems¹⁸, and linguistic expressions. On the other hand, in different areas of Koraput district, the Joria share some traits with others neighbouring groups like especially the Pongo Parja (also Dravidian). Unfortunately, we can not say much more on their origins, due to the lack of historical sources. It is time for us to exploit the possible historical sources with a local focus.

¹⁶ Bell 1943, p. 37

¹⁷ All the historical account of the Nandapur – Jeypora kingdom mention the intervention of Brinjari (also Baryari, Bohipari or Lombadi) itinerant carriers and merchants in the settling of the first Suryavamsa king. See Singh Deo 1939 and Schoepel 1992 and 2002.

¹⁸ They favored, for example, the cross-cousin marriage and have close kinship terminology. In Nandapur area, the names of their clans (Jorao or Vathia) are the same than those of other groups of the area: Khori (Joni), Anwai (Srinika), Kharo (Tiger), Pango (Vulture), sometimes Peta (pig). The status titles (kads) are also rare (mayak), oas, barik, and milan or chalan. We can also find moduli, maghi, kironi, bhia denoting originally village functions but now often considered as lineage names.

II. Ethno-historical reconstruction of the Paraja and Joria categories

To attempt an ethno-historical analysis, we need to adopt a "local point of view"¹⁶ by concentrating the study in a specific area, and combining fieldwork investigations and available information on local history. In our case, we confine our inquiry to the area around Nandapur, the former capital of the Jyapote kingdom. This kingdom, it is well known, was nearly coextensive with the present Koraput district. This location permits us to get few historical insights and to glance at the links between the different Jati and the local king. We may thus attain a more comprehensive view of the Paraja and Joria categories.

1) The Paraja as "peasant-citizen" class.

In the area surrounding Nandapur, the Paraja (in general) hold a relatively low rank in the hierarchy, though not at all the lowest. They are supposed to be among the most ancient inhabitants of the area, the rural "dominant" group or "earthmen" (*maiya*) in the Pfeffer's words following the local term.¹⁷ The Madras Census Report of 1871, pleaded also for their ancient presence, in view of their knowledge on the regional land rights.¹⁸ For this reason they are considered as "senior" (*bodo*). On this topic, we can quote a widespread myth in Central India according to which the tribes were originally related to the Raja. The ancestors of both were brothers, but the younger (*sania*) succeeded in raising a horse and became the first king, while the older failed and remained peasant.¹⁹ This legend is a way, through kinship terminology and analogy in the area, to reverse the hierarchy in favour of the tribal "subjects".

We have to examine now the distinctions made within the Paraja category itself. At a first level, most of the informants recognized the classical distinction between Bodo (*reider*) Paraja, comprising mostly Bodo and Sania (youngers) including Joria and Pengo.²⁰ We can precise that the Sania and Joria are Dravidian speakers, while the Pengo are still Dravidian languages speakers (related with the Kori Khond). To this basic structure, they add locally the Parenga (related with the

¹⁶ One of us (rousseau 2002), tried to show that the "local point of view" was generally the Dumont's perspective on the "tribe question" in India, and that this perspective is still fruitful though other aspects are more open to discussion.

¹⁷ Pfeffer 1983, p.90-91.

¹⁸ "These ancient rights to these lands are acknowledged by everyone from among the Aryans, and when a dispute arises about the boundaries of a field possessed by recent arrivals a Parja is usually called in to point out the ancient landmarks. Castles are also represented as indigenous from the long space of years that they have been in the country, but they are by no means of the patriarchal type that characterizes the Parja". Madras Census Report 1871, quoted in Rousset and Arnould 1916, p.371.

¹⁹ We can find close versions, among others, in Elwin 1954, p.223-24, and Russell and Pitts 1915, 915.

²⁰ In the north-western part of Koraput, around Newrangpur, the Joria are classified with the Sania among the Bodo Paraja, by the Pengo informants of K.N. Thakur. Thakur 1977, p.3.

Chadaba), some Kandi, the Biondo and the Gadaba.²⁴ We face, thus, subgroups from different origins whose common denominator is to have been more closely connected with the king and his capital-city than other related lineages. It seems then that the Paraja hierarchy follows the spatial dispersion too: the closer you are to Nandapur and Jeypore, the higher you are considered.

From the Paraja's point of view now, to be acknowledged as one of the king constituted a form of "social distinction". At the lineage or individual level, secondly, the same process was going on, through the use of the titles (*kula*). Most of the present local "tribal" titles indeed, as the Orissa ones, come from royal offices considered as hereditary. Obviously, it doesn't imply that there was no "tribal" chief or priest before the local kingdom, but their original functions have been influenced by the wider royal structure. On this topic, we can attempt a more general remark. One finds a widespread tendency among the local "tribes" to introduce themselves only by their title instead of their clan name. This fact takes place once more in the common strategy of distinction. The emphasis on the title permits to separate them from their local origins (at least in the words), as well as to "functionalize" their lineage in a more prestigious way. More generally this process, combined with claims of respecting rules of purity (especially regarding cows), has been a powerful factor in creating new endogamous communities.²⁵ The famous "Kshatriyatization" can be considered like a particular extension of this kind of phenomenon.²⁶ But, beyond the tribes, the same strategy is in fact employed since long time by the castes. Beyond the Barley's continuum from tribe to caste, this observation supports the locustian hypothesis of a progressive subordination of the kinship principle to a status one in a royal context.

Together with different Desai Scheduled Castes, the groups living in this area form therefore a "local system" which, more generally, constitutes what G. Pfeffer called the "Korapur complex" or what P. Berger following the local people call the Desai society. Beyond caste hierarchy, the very existence of such organization centred on Nandapur turns out attention towards the ancient kingdom frame. It may be time for us to learn from the historians what could be the Paraja category in the ancient royal context. If we follow, for example, the general indications of Ronald Inden, *praja* appears to mean "subject" or a certain "kind of citizenship" whose members were "supposed to be loyal to their king". More appropriately still according to Inden, *praja* stands as synonym for *janapada* "the 'residents of the countryside' mostly engaged in agriculture in contrast with the *panthi* or 'residents of the city' (merchants, and castes involved in more 'urban' activities)".²⁷ But that's not all, and Inden specifies that the whole rural world

²⁴ On those distinctions, see Favre as previously quoted. We can also stress the conventional aspect of the Paraja list, often composed of seven groups even if the names change. Seven is a common number for the founder of a tribe, or the parame world levels, etc.

²⁵ E. N. Dasgupta reports the case of a Pengo group living near Jeypore whose members call themselves *Sodabhera* "respect pollution city for the cows and buffaloes dead in their house and refuse intermarriage with the other Paraja whom they call *Khandi* the Peta, "pet" (Hindu 1977, p. 9). The term *sodha* may come from *sud* "purify".

²⁶ Hermann Kulke proposed a rather similar scenario of "mass democratization" in his article "Kshatriyatization and social change: A study in Orissa setting" in *Aspects on changing India. Studies in honour of Prof. G.S. Ghurye*, Devendra P. Khosla ed., Bombay 1976.

²⁷ Inden 1990, p. 218-220.

"consisted of overlapping territorial societies"²⁶ What Inden defines here, from his historical data, reflects quite exactly what we faced actually on the field. The Paraja of Nandapur area constitute a peasant society overlapping the more urban and mercantile one which can be divided in lower (the local Domb and Ghasar, and higher castes there mostly the Rona, the Mali, the Gouda, the Kamar blacksmiths and the Kumhar potters).²⁷ The Paraja society is divided in its turn, as we have seen, according to different criteria among which the most important one was formerly the proximity with the royal palace and the temple.

2) The Joria or the "peasant citizens of the valley" compare to the "peasant warriors of the hills":

In this context, as "peasants of the valleys"²⁸, the Joria were considered as somehow inferior to the Soda, living around Jeypore and closer to the palace life. According to the Joria themselves, they accept food and water from Brahmin and Khandayat (scribes) obviously, but also from Rona (armanent warriors of the royal militia), Gouda (herdsmen), Mali (gardeners), Paranga and Gadaba. They accept only fruits from Domb, Tei (Kairwar) and Bondo, but nothing from the Ghasar. Domb and Ghasar are their common "client" castes.²⁹ A close version of this situation is given by another legendary account of the origin of the Joria, reported by Elwin:

"the first Joria was the child of a Mali woman, and was born in a stream. He was adopted by a Gadaba, and when people asked him his tribe, he could say nothing but 'Joria, Joria: stream, stream'".³⁰

²⁶ Inden 1990, p.224

²⁷ These "overlapping societies" can be equated, in our view, with what Peter Berger described recently as the three levels of the Daga society (Berger 2002: thank you so much to have given this article). Our Paraja in particular stand in Berger's middle level.

²⁸ We must remark that some "Laudiya-Jhadia Jara" are actually mentioned in the royal title of Visvamahara Deo: one of the most famous king of Jeypore who ruled the kingdom between 1672 and 1676, according to K.B.Singh Deo. "Laudiya-Jhadia Jara, sends for the tribes of 'Lorlya' and 'Jhadia' that are found in the Chhatargarh and Surahgarh Agencies" (Singh Deo 1939, p.58-59). We don't know why the writer refer to Chhatargarh joria instead of introducing the Komarpur ones. It can refer to two groups: the Joria and the Loria (subcaste of Gouda), or, to a single group: the Loria Jodia, a subcaste of Gouda described by Thurston as "a small class of hill cultivators in the Vindhya region district" Thurston & Rangachari: 909, Vol. IV, p.294). Kumar & Hira: at 1918 mention a Lohara Jhadia subcaste of Oriya blacksmiths, as well as a Lodha Jhadia subgroup of Rajasthani landholders, living in Mandla (Chhatargarh). It may be to the latter that Singh Deo think about. As we can see the identification of this group is difficult, but the rest of the title seems to indicate that this group was relatively important, and may be rebel at a time. Visvamahara Deo is known to have encouraged the peasants to settle in the plains.

²⁹ on the "client" category, see Diamond: 980, and Piller 1997 for an application of the concept in a "tribal" context.

³⁰ Elwin 1954, p.xxivii

This myth places in fact very well the Jona in the local scale, between the higher Mal gardeners and the lower Gadaba.¹¹ Other local legends of the same kind explain for example the proximity but not withstanding relative inferiority of the Bonda (or even the Parengi) perceived as wilder than them. Though rather low, the Jona Parja were indeed, considered as loyal, more quiet and "civilized" than the Bonda (Parja nonetheless), and more over than proud and aggressive highlanders like the Dongria Kond or the Lastye Saora.

Compare to the people of the valleys, those two "hill tribes" were seen as wilder, but, on the other hand, were appreciated for their martial capacities by the king. This distinctive trait helps us to understand the very special status of the Saora and Kond in the kingdom. Some of them, indeed, were considered as Parja (the Kond living around Nandapur for example, and the Dongria Kond in general are proud to belong to this category). But we know thanks to Prof. P. K. Nayak, that the Dongria Kond of the Narmada Hills accept only with indignation to be called "subjects" of an Oriya king. The same could be said about the Mal Saora. Their claim of autonomy was not totally fulfilled since, still according to P. K. Nayak, the same Dongria Kond recognized among themselves the Nuahika clan as "Bodo Parja" or eldest of all the Dongria clans representing all the Dongria Kondha.¹² As a matter of fact, the so-called "Bodo Parja" were relatively autonomous concerning their own feuds and the administration of "their" hills. They were nonetheless tributary to the local king, as we can see through their participation of the different Desara festivals. At this occasion, they had some martial privileges close to those of the local Patka castes (or Rana).

An important occasion to see the kingdom's organization at work was offered indeed by the Desara festival. For Jeypore, this royal ceremony has been largely commented by B. Schnepel (quoting himself L. H. Sahu) as both the expression and the maintenance of the kingdom unity and divisions.¹³ The hierarchy was legitimized indeed through the participation of each group in the general procession. According to some informants, the Gouda (milkmen) were bringing water and other things, the Dombo were drum beaters, the Ghas had to watch the horses while the Gadaba had to watch the elephants (and to bear palanquins, etc.). Unfortunately, no one has been able to tell us what was the function especially allotted to the Jona. But people told us something else that we didn't suspect. Formerly, the festival of Jeypore didn't begin before the warlike arrival of the Nandapur delegation bringing there their own flags (*ghanda*) at the extremity of long poles. Most of those flags were coming from certain villages.¹⁴

¹¹ We recognized here the classical Indian way of explaining the creation and relative situation of a caste through a blend of amasutras, generally a marriage of earlier Jan. The theme of adoption here, in any case, touched the Jona blood and dignity.

¹² Nayak 1989: p. 84 et p. 123. They were under the *Phangra* of *Bhumavimakh* (himself dependent of the Jeypore Raj) but recognized mostly their legendary king of the hills, *Narmada*.

¹³ Schnepel 2003.

¹⁴ The *ghanda* recall in mind the sashband or clasp weapons of the Dongria Kond, which were brought to Bhumavimakh for Desara. Nayak 1989: It seems that most of the *ghanda* brought to Jeypore were from important villages like headquarters of *mahe* (group of villages), or martial villages (like some Kond areas).

Among the few representatives of this area who accompanied the *insignia*, one Paraja enjoyed some privileges: the representatives of the "Benek Parja". After enquiry, we discovered that this small group resides in three close villages in the high-plateau above Nandapur. The members of this group claim to be few higher than the Joria and are then equated with the *Bodo Paraja*. Actually their intermarriages as well as their funerary customs show that they are a branch of the Joria belonging to the *Kikula* (Tiger) clan, and bearing the *Sisu* (generally "priest") title. Their slight superiority comes from the fact that they are still considered the descendants of the tribal couple who, according to the local origin myth of the Jeypore dynasty, adopted the first Nandapur king, Benek Raja. We will try now to identify this king as well as the different agents of this ancient history.

III. The citizens of Vinayak Deo : a reconstruction of Nandapur ancient history

1) From Benek Raja to Vinayak Deo

The strange name *Benek Raja* barely hides the more prestigious *Vinayak Deo*, founder of the *Saravamsu* dynasty, who ruled Nandapur between 1443 and 1476. Following the Nandapur legend, the Benek Paraja were granted some lands and few privileges like to set fire on the Holpuda (Hol) pyre in Nandapur, or to perform the first ritual sowing of the paddy of all the kingdom (during Chaitra month) for the care their ancestors gave to the royal child. From the rice grown by them in the hills close to Nandapur, some is given to the royal family of Jeypore, as well as some water from the Rani Doduma falls (in the same area). This royal distinction, which is recognized by all the population of the Nandapur area and beyond, speaks for an unexpected role played by the Joria Paraja at the founding of the kingdom.

Let us come back to the legend, in its version mentioned by Bell:

"A tradition in the Agency, current among others besides the Doms, has it that the Panos of Ghumsur in Gangam district, proved themselves so obnoxious to the people by their criminal habits that the Raja issued an order that any Panu should be killed wherever he should be found. In fear of this edict the men of the tribe scattered and some of them sought refuge in the hills of Jeypore. Soon after their arrival one of their number succeeded by a trick in inducing the Kondhs of the locality to accept him as their king. Observing that the Kondhs were in the habit of worshipping a certain *Ayo* tree, this man concealed himself in the tree and suddenly leapt from it when the Kondhs were performing their devotions, announcing that he had been sent to them to be their king. Simultaneously he summoned some of his fellow-refugees who had been concealed themselves nearby and declared that they were his retinue. The Kondhs believed that a king had been given to them by the tree as a reward for their devotion and accepted the ruler thus sent to them. They built forts for him at a number of places, of which the remains of one near Sembhuguda are still clearly visible.

²⁷ They are mentioned in Das 1990, p.5. This book helped us to locate them.

and are known locally as the 'Domb fort'. A period of terror and anarchy followed during which the Raja and his followers came to be called 'Dombut' or devils, which name was later changed to 'Domb'.

The tradition further narrates that the reign of the Domb kings was ended by a boy, who was found in a forest guarded by a cobra and a peacock and fed by a goat, and was brought up by the foster parents who discovered him. After overthrowing the Domb he established a kingdom at Narayanapuram, which was later moved to Nandapur. One of the successors of this Raja had no male issue and at the bidding of the god Narayana, who appeared to him in a dream, married his daughter to a certain youth who had come to his kingdom, also at the direction of the gods, and from this union sprang the present family of the Raja of Jeypore.¹⁰

A nearly similar legend is famous in all the Nandapur area. The supposed 'Domb fort' (*Domb gadai*) is actually situated in the close vicinity of Nandapur (on the way to Semlagad) but no such precision is given about the origins of the local Domb. In any case it is doubtful that the name Domb came from *Duma* as Domb is a widespread word, far from Orissa and from the area where *dome* is employed. The story of a Domb king may be an invention or not, in any case, the remains of a fort is not a proof for such allegation. We will see, nevertheless, that some informations are still interesting in this myth.

This version of the story is particularly valuable because it clearly distinguishes three successive events. The first describes the Domb kingdom ended by the second event, the conquest of the young warrior. The last episode is the establishment of the Suryavamsa dynasty with Jeypore as next capital. Of all the story, only the last episode is mentioned in the official dynastic legend of Jeypore (*Suryavamsa Raja Samvaran*).¹¹ Reverend B. Schnepel showed that the founder of the Suryavamsa dynasty, Vinayak Dev, might be originally a warrior-merchant Banjar, or was at least one of them. The Banjar, or more accurately "Bohpan" as they are called locally, crossed indeed the Khatap plateau to exchange various goods from Bastar and Chhattargarh against salt of the Orissa and Telugu coastal areas. Moreover it is well known that the Jeypore kings ended their signature with a wavy line representing the whip of the Banjar. We can add to the Schnepel demonstration that a special celebration was held in honour of the Bohpan in Jeypore. In September, people were celebrating the *Kumbh Mela*, *Pous* to increase their welfare (upar) in Laxmi and Ganesh, but also in honour of the Bohpan and the cattle.¹² The festival indeed consisted mostly of small clay cart processions in the main street of Jeypore. This festival involved also a reception of some Bohpan who were gifted some presents by the king.

Still according to the dynastic legend, Vinayak Dev was helped by the Bohpan against a rebellion of the local peoples around Nandapur. Schnepel

¹⁰ Bell 1945, p. 80.

¹¹ Sarma 1931. We thank the son of the author, Anandabharu Sarda, who showed us his copy of this previous book.

¹² I am not mentioning also a *Kumbh Mela* or festival of the parvati god of the Banjars and traders (Bell, p. 99) who were most of these informants to Sri Suryavamsa Raja Bhikari of Nandapur, confirmed by Sri Pandit V. Nanda of Jeypore.

supposes that this rebellion was prompted by the previous king, of the *Silavama* dynasty ("stone dynasty"). We don't know much about the kings of this dynasty. The last *Silavama* king is said to have married his daughter to Vinayak Dev, following a dream sent by Shiva Sarvernak, before to let the throne to his son-in-law. As Schnepel argue, the story can be read in a different way, as a conquest of the throne by Vinayak, legitimated afterwards by an alliance between the two lineages. The rebellion can be easily understood in this case, as a revolt of the local subjects, faithful to their ancient king, against the new ruler. It should be said that the so-called *rai puchana* ("sati stone" worshipped by the neighbours) situated in the ancient Nandapur fort, seems to belong to the reign of Vinayak Dev, as the very corrupted sculpture will show it.⁴¹ The carvings show a king facing his wife and together seated by crossing their legs, are raising their hand as a sign of mutual vow. A second woman, certainly second wife, is standing and raising her arm on the left side of the stone. If our interpretation is true, the king represented on the stone is Vinayak himself, and he got two wives, as the custom prevailed for the kings of this time. To add to our hypothesis, it can be said that the style of this image remind us of sati stones as we can see in Bastar.⁴²

2) The lineage "born from the rock":

Let us carry on our comparisons between myth and historical evidences. Previous to the Vinayak's arrival, the legend mentions a miraculous boy, guarded by a cobra and a peacock, which are royal animals *par excellence*. He was adopted by foster-parents, won against the bad Domb king, and then founded a kingdom at Narayangma before to settle in Nandapur. This last idea should be reversed, as Narayangma became capital only after Nandapur. At this point, the versions of the legend collected orally in Nandapur become more accurate. According to it, the boy was born on the *thirtymukhama* ("thirty-two steps throne") hillock in the centre of present Nandapur. Different people even say that his umbilical cord was kept in an hidden spring within the same hillock. The foster-parents who discovered him were an old barren couple (called sometimes *Bewek naga* and *Bewek nani* themselves), the architects of the so-called *Bewek Pariga*, who were collecting roots in the forest. Some years after, the boy followed secretly his father to the royal Danda and met the Domb king (called here *Sundarbani*). Unknowingly, he made *Namaskar* with his feet, gesture which was highly disrespectful, so the king wanted to arrest him. The boy ran away to his native jungle and made bamboo sword and shield. With those weapons, he was against the whole Domb army and reigned over Nandapur.

As, according to the legend quoted by Bell, Vinayak Dev succeeded to a descendant of this boy, we can suppose that this latter is the founder of the

⁴¹ We have been able to decipher, at the second time, successive Sundari or ancient Hindi letters which can be read as *YMaYa*! *DeVa*.

⁴² See E. Setau & G.D. Santhaver (ed), *Memorial stones: A study of their origin, significance and variety* (Darwad: Heidelberg, Mysore: Panna Press – South Asia Institute, New-Delhi 1962). At least four sati stones can be seen in Nandapur, even if their dates is different. One has numerous women represented. The practice of sati was common for the Jeygwa race, as we can see also in Raygola and Narayangma.

Adavanna dynasty. The scarce historical information about the kings of this family may tell us that they ruled Nandapur up to 1443 (the last king being Prapa Ganganna) and that they are known by some ambiguous name (135), the first known king being called Ganganna.³⁷ Our identification is confirmed by two elements: the name of the dynasty (the "dynasty of the stone") and the date of the ambika cult kept in the stone house. It refers indeed to a myth according to which the founder was born out of the rock.³⁸ In this case, the *Bene Paraja* (also a Jura branch) can be considered as the foster parents of the ancient raja dynasty.

Moreover, they may have been the "real" parents of the king. Some arguments point in this direction. Firstly, some *Bene Paraja*, though proud to play a role in the former royal celebrations, claim to have been in war with the Jespore area during some times. They say also that Jhaurasa (where damaged temples still however in the "real Nandapur" area) was the crown divinity of the past and had the Jespore area in its domain. Last but not least, some of them say that the *Bene* subcommunity is forbidden to the main members of their lineage because it is the *Asura* of the family which means he "steals" the umbilical cord.³⁹ With these arguments we can maintain that the actual *Bene Paraja* are directly related to the more ancient royal history however documented in Nandapur. And if they were not direct ancestors, at least they supported his reign, considering it as "rightful" as an offspring of the soil akin to them.⁴⁰

To conclude, we will come back to the legend opposing the raja riding a horse and the *Paraja* cultivating the soil (cf. 11.1). K. N. Tharu give a more complete view on these myth by proving that, though the junior brother became raja, the peasant *Paraja* stayed senior. *Prada* and "priest" *trama*. He continues by telling that the *Perge Paraja* believe that one *Paraja* called *Naranga Jura*, who married in *Kandaria* (now in Jespore) with the *Bene Kutra* in Nandapur was previously essential to the constitution of the Jespore king.⁴¹ He enjoyed the privilege indeed of "ascending *Matra* to sit on the throne", but according to the *Perge*, this *Naranga* was also previously essential during the *Dusara* procession and for the first rice seeds sowing. All these functions were actually performed by the main members of the *Bene Paraja* lineage, who are also called *Ba* (so here "priest") family. The priest mentioned by the *Perge* can be easily identified with this *Ba*. The relation mentioned by the local tribes between the Raja and his older brother the *Paraja* priest was actually not only mythical but with historical. In *Bene* in particular and the *Jura* and *Paraja* in general, were the true senior "earthmen" (*amata*) who were still dominant in the area (and maybe formerly even rulers) and with whom the king had to deal. Moreover, the fertility

³⁷ Bell 1945 p.22.

³⁸ This legend recalls the origin myth of the ancient Sabhalbhera dynasty of the Chhota area (7th century). It is interesting to find the same idea among the *Perge* according to which the Jespore raja was born out of a stone which breaks into pieces; Tharu 1977, p. 1.

³⁹ Tharu 1977 p.13-14.

⁴⁰ This idea is not always clear as it refers to the "sacrifice" as well as to the "priest" of the village shrine (gates). A other village around Nandapur it can be also employed for the "cult" generally called *Randur*. The same ambiguity can be seen in the *Chhota* case (Burger 2003).

of the kingdom was still insured by the performance of the spring rituals by those original "masters of the earth". The association of the tribal priest with a Hindu king, lastly widespread in Orissa, evokes both the senior-religious, junior secular distinction of the Middle Indian "tribes" and, the more classical one between Brahman and raja. Actually, both priests were necessary and while the Brahman provided a textual authority to the royal decisions, the local *Sewa* could give a customary legitimation.¹⁷

Conclusion.

Beginning with the first scientific reports on the Joria Paraja, this article tried firstly to define the name of this group, by situating it progressively in its local context. This process lead us to examine the ancient little kingdom organization. We saw then that the Joria Paraja were closely connected with a group called the Benek Paraja, itself directly involved in the kingdom ancient history and royal rituals. Today a Scheduled Tribe like the Joria Paraja of Nandapur area were undoubtedly a dominant local group in the far past, and the Benek Paraja might have been even forgotten kings.

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¹⁷ Galey 1994.

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Dongria Kondh Labour Co-operatives : Their Relevance in the Development Process

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Introduction

Tribal societies in general are known for their high sense of social cooperation among themselves. At various institutional levels people interact intensely and cooperate with one another. They exchange labour with collectives and co-operative spirit. Labour co-operatives derive a great deal of purpose of their socio-economic, political and religious life and living. In their case, the egalitarian mode of living based on the principle of reciprocity and equivalence prompts them to depend upon mutual help and cooperation. They organize themselves into multiple social groups and divisions, which facilitate the levels and contexts of their cooperation.

The Dongria Kondh claim royal ancestry. Individually they feel proud of their royal origin, and that in fact guides them not to work for others, mostly outsiders, as paid labour. The Dongrias are basically an agrarian culture. They grow crops in the hill slopes with the help of very small scale technology. For widened cultivation they need more number of working hands. Family provides the labour to the labour co-operative and it constitutes the smallest unit of labour co-operative.

The traditional politico-religious institutions regulate the functioning of the labour co-operatives. Non-conformity to the norms of the labour co-operatives is severely dealt with. Any deviant or delinquent is subject to punishment by village tribal Council (*Mesiah*, a clan-community level festival requires expensive sacrifices of animals and fowls and the labour co-operatives contribute to meet the expenses on this occasion).

The Dongria labour co-operatives take cognizance of the fact that their children at an early age of 9 to 10 years can become bonafide members of the labour co-operatives. Socio-economically they are treated equal to adults. At this early age they come up and engage themselves in a host of labour activities. The children prefer to work under labour co-operatives rather than going to school and they feel nostalgic about it. This is one of the reasons why enrolment of tribal children in schools is low and dropout is high.

In recent years, the Dongria tradition of labour co-operatives is being eroded by their neighbours and outsiders, there seems to be a shift from overt cooperation to covert exploitation. The value of mutual help and cooperation is getting eroded and slowly labour goes to market through sales and purchases and through growing contractual relationships.

The system has its utility for the tribal society. On the one hand it serves the purpose of the society and on the other hand it nourishes strong bond of relationship and upkeeps social solidarity.

The Kondh is numerically a major tribe of Orissa, and the Dongria Kondh constitutes a primitive section among them. Labour cooperatives are very effectively functioning among the Dongria Kondhs. The Dongria continue to uphold the traditional value of group solidarity and mutual help through exchange of labour.

Definitions and Explanations on Labour Co-operatives

The *Van Webster's Dictionary of Current English Language* (1981:523) defines labour as: 'Persistent exertion of body and for the sake of gain or economic production, those engaged in such toil considered as group or class. The labour force is that part of the population which is contributing to the production of goods and services, which is in the work force, as distinguished from the dependent population (Fairs 1988). Labour force includes the totality of labour of a society or a community. The pattern of labour explains how labour force operates in a given society. Hence the labour cooperatives may be understood as a pattern of labour. Labour cooperative refers to an institutionalized, conventional and collective works of tribal society performed voluntarily on mutual exchange of help and labour. In other words, it may be defined as a combined work of a group of labourers in a tribal society traditionally governed by mutual help and exchange of labour.

The work of Honskovits (1974:88-108) pictured it as 'labour partnership' in works and activities or reciprocal willingness to work or even exchange labour for works. In his discussion on pattern of labour in pre-literate society, he gave different synonyms to labour co-operatives. They are: work-group, feast labour, 'working bees', labour-helper, reciprocity labour or exchange labour, guest-labour and voluntary workers. The tribes experience it as a labour congress, in which the motive is mutual help, sustaining group solidarity. This tribal tradition and custom that governs the mutual help and obligation conforms to a 'pattern' which varies from society to society.

According to Honskovits, 'the CO-OPERATIVENESS characterizes the activities of non-literate people constitutes one of the most striking aspects of their patterns of labour. Co-operative work is done by groups of all sizes, comprehends a variety of tasks... we refer to that sort of co-operation which acts as a factor in furthering the productive processes: the voluntary association of a group of men or women where objective is the completion of a specific, definitely limited task, with which they are simultaneously concerned. Co-operative organizations of this kind, free or compulsory, temporary or permanent, organized or informal, are found every where in the non-literate world' (1974:99-100). Nayak says, 'labour co-operatives are nothing but collection of young men and women organized in groups to help each other at the time of strenuous work in each other's fields' (1989:128-130).

Socio-cultural Significance of Labour Co-operatives

Among the Dongria land is allocated in accordance with their traditional customary rules. A location of *dingur* swidden land is customarily made in the village council which has remained very forceful even today. Individual households enjoy rights over land and at the same time discharge obligations towards the village community. Similarly labour is governed by community rules and customary practices. The multiple of social groups and institutions help articulate the labour relationships.

The labour pattern of Dongria is much more influenced by their royal origin – the Dongrias claim to be the descendants of the Nayak Raja and consider it below the dignity to work as wage earners (Aparajita, 1994:116). Factors like swidden cultivation which is labour intensive and terrain ecology, forest dependent economy and small scale technological know-how have also influenced the origin, development and sustenance of the pattern of labour relationship. The hilly and mountainous lands require more hands than a family provides to carry out swidden cultivation. Basically being swidden cultivators they come to each other's help during various agricultural operations. These tasks are not considered easy for a single household. Further they have to be performed as early as possible within the scheduled time as seasons and suitable weather do not wait for them. (Nayak, 1989:128)

The cooperative system of management of labour can be said to have arisen out of the religious sentiment, the idea of self governance and above all a feeling of strong bond of social relationship nurtured by a univariant ethnic identity of the Dongria. "They arise from tradition, sense of obligation coming out of one's position in a system of status relationship especially those of kinship and from religious consideration and moral motivations of many kinds" (Redfield, 1948: 1).

"There is a sense of cooperation in that the neighbours and relatives always help out troubles that unable to do all the works due to illness or shortage of labourer" (Fernandes, 1987:74). This system of labour organization shows the high degree of fellow feeling the people have towards each other and also the idea of self government among them (Nayak, 1989:28). Labour co-operatives, especially the *Sobharu* has a great contribution into religious performance in *Mewa* festival of the Dongria. The fund, *monaka* collected from the *Sobharu* are utilized to celebrate the *Mewa* festival and other community rituals with additional gaiety. This not only helps upholding the social status of the *Kuruban* but also of the entire village community and the *Mewa* organization. Thus the labour co-operatives are linked up with their religious, political as well as socio-cultural traditions besides being pivotally recognized as an institution serving the vital needs of economic activities.

The system believes in the principle of social equality. Every Dongria family can become a participant in several labour co-operatives. A member family of one labour cooperative has equal rights to seek labour from other member families and at the same time has obligations to render labour. In labour terms, children above 9 years of age and women are considered equal to that of adult

males. They have the same and similar work output. Any able bodied person, irrespective of age and sex is allowed to participate in the activities of labour cooperatives. This basic value of equality and equity expressed in the membership of labour cooperatives facilitates the member-families in fulfilling the obligations by sending a representative of the family as a labour to the labour cooperatives. In economic terms the labour cooperatives cost less. The host Dongria family pays little, a nominal amount in cash. However, he has to feed the member participants of the labour cooperative, and at times supplies them drinks. If the nature of work happened to be arduous or strenuous, one's personal economic gains are calculated not in pure economic terms, rather more in social terms on the basis of mutual obligation relationship. The payment made to the labour cooperative goes to common fund and it is spent for a common purpose. Dongrias are obliged to contribute labour to the labour cooperatives. Any violation of the customary rules of the labour cooperative is amenable to the adjudication of the village/inhabitant council. Besides, deviations are subject to both positive and negative sanctions. Labour cooperatives are free for all, yet the definite cooperative has its mandates and the individual member exercises his or her choices and decisions.

In *ban* system, an individual labour becomes a member of a labour cooperative by virtue of his or her social group identity and affiliation which may be familial, local, affinal, ritualistic or may be formed by age-set and age grade institutions of both the sexes. While a group or an institution, at a social plane collects its members to a common cooperative pool the community reinforces the cooperative acts at a higher level of a decision-making body. The cooperative allows children, expectant mothers, nursing mothers, old men and women to participate in the work on equal footing.

Earlier references on Dongria Kondh Labour Co-operatives

Studies on labour cooperatives existing in tribal societies are very few and far between. Scanty references are found on related topics like employment, labour-management, labour pattern, division of labour etc. That labour cooperatives are central to functioning of tribal societies and have structural features have not been dealt with intensively.

In his study on Dongria Kondh, Nayak mentions about labour cooperatives (1989: 78-130). He used the concept of labour cooperative and described its function, purpose and significance. In Dongria language, labour cooperative is known as *gumda*. Aparajita (1994: 117) referred to labour cooperatives and viewed it as *Ban* system. Patraik and Daspatraik (1982) and Nayak, Bora and Sonring (1990) in their respective work on the Kondh recognize labour cooperatives among the Kondhs in general and Dongria in particular. Patraik and Daspatraik observed, "It is the tradition among the Dongrias that they share out another's labour in agricultural and horticultural works on a co-operative basis within the community when labourers are contacted to do any sort of work. Both men and women participate in the pursuit not with a view to earn wage, but to help a person who belongs to their own group. Of course the persons engaged are given food and paid a nominal sum of Rs.5/- to Rs.10/- for the labour. The person who engages them plus works with others. In this way personal calls are attended and the

amount thus collected is deposited with the *Burika* and spent on a feast (1982:43-51).

Nayak, Bhal and Soenpa referred to labour cooperation as a constituting a *Roti* system among the Konds. They describe a *Roti* system as commonly used, whereby the same people are employed for ploughing, weeding, harvesting and threshing, and payment of workers is in sheaves of grain. Every village has its own rate regarding the provision of rice meal. This matter is predetermined by tradition and is rigidly observed (1980:210-211). They also pointed out the changes in *Roti* system and practice of wage labour.

The study area and the people

The Dongria country is situated over a high plateau ranging from about 500m to 4500 ft above the sea-level. Each Dongria Kondh village is situated in the corner of a chain of hills of varying height. The physiography of the Dongria land is of three types such as *dhungra*, *shala* and *dhosi*. *Dhungra* is high hill land. On the hill slopes orchards are developed and turmeric, ginger and various varieties of chili varieties of millet like *manihot*, *kandua* and *saua* are grown. *Shala* is the fertile land, a the foothills where paddy is cultivated. *Dhosi* is the more fertile kitchen garden where vegetables are grown.

The Dongria kondh has been identified as a primitive tribe. They speak Koro which comes under the Dravidian group of stock. The Dongria are a patrilineal, patriarchal and patrilineal society. They have nuclear and extended type of families. They separate themselves into lineages and clans. Marriage by negotiation is ideal type and considered prestigious. The other ways of acquiring mates are marriage by exchange and marriage by service. In Dongria society a good deal of co-operation is expressed in every sphere of activity. Exchange of labour in agriculture and horticulture operations is found very common. In construction of a new house men, women and even children contribute their labour in return they are entertained with at least one meal and made a nominal payment for the labour cooperative. Women labour is preferred in carrying out transplantation and weeding operations. Clearing of forests, felling and sowings are done by men, and harvesting and threshing by both men and women together.

They grow crops in the swidden by hoeing the land with hand. It requires more labour hours and manpower. They are expert horticulturalist and grow fruits like pineapples, bananas, oranges, lemons, mangoes and jackfruits. As they grow spices like chili, ginger and turmeric, besides they produce crops like millets (*foam*, *manihot*, *saua*), maize, paddy, pulses, turban, *dhungra* etc. Collection of forest produce, rearing animals and wage earning supplements their earnings.

The traditional institutions such as village council (*Dhauka*), the girls dormitory and ponds organizations play significant roles in keeping village solidarity that governs the cooperative behavior and management of labour. *Mondal*, *Juni*, *Bumayh*, *Pigari*, *Duari*, *Beruni*, *Burika*, *Dhuvu* and *Canada* are the village functionaries who have their socio-political and religious roles.



Dongria Kondh village



Health Camp for Cattle in DKDA, Parsadi area

They propitiate *Dangpenu*, the earth goddess, and a number of other village deities, spritua and observe *Afenu* festivals. Round the year they observe some of other rituals and ceremonies. The *Kondh* are the immediate neighbour of the Dongria. They render traditional services—see acting as messengers, *Barkha*, sweepers, *Jaasen*, and cattle herders *Kamulur* in the capacity of a messenger. The *Dangb* play a significant role in the system of labour co-operations.

Work Force in the study village, Kuril

Village Kuril comprises 35 Dongria Kondh households. The Dongria population is 76, out of which 57 are males and 19 are females. The workforce or the labour force of the Dongria society includes persons of either sexes both adults and children above 9 years of age. The workforce comprises 38 (67%) of the total population. In the workforce, 54 (68%) are males and 64 (66%) are females. It includes 44 (75%) children in the age group of (9-17) years and adults in the age group of (18-60) years. Among the child population in the workforce, 21 (38%) are boys and 23 (52%) are girls. Among the adult population in the workforce, 31 (45%) are males and 41 (55%) are females. The workforce is presented in the statement below.

| Children (9-17 years) | | Workforce Adults (18-60 years) | | | Total | | |
|--------------------------|----|--------------------------------------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| | | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total |
| Boys | 21 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 54 | 64 | 118 |
| Girls | 23 | 4 | 5 | 9 | 54 | 64 | 118 |
| | 44 | 8 | 9 | 17 | 108 | 128 | 236 |

The level of literacy in the workforce is a 16.64%. Among the males it is at 19%, among the females it is at 13% only. The literacy level among the child population and adult population is at 36% and 12% respectively. At least 10 females are non-literate.

Labour Co-operatives: A Case Study of village Kuril

Out of 35 Dongria households, 30 have shared in, and as member of labour co-operatives at Kuril village. As many as 25 households (75%) had availed the help of Labour Co-operatives like *Sahabati*, *Dangbati*, *Dhangadabati* and *Gura* during March-November, 2000. They utilized *Sahabati* for 60 workdays and *Gura* for 3 work days, *Dangbati* for 4 workdays, and only one household utilized *Dhangadabati* once for a workday.

The labour co-operatives was utilized in the farms (in the *dangury* for the purpose of different agrarian activities. The table below indicates that *Sahabati* was utilized for 17 times for clearing and cutting *dongar*, 20 times for hoeing and

sowing seeds, 15 times for weeding and 8 times for harvesting. Dhatshu was applied for 5 times and all that are for weeding. For cleaning of forests, Dhungushu was utilized once and four times. Besides, the latter was also utilized equal number of times for hoeing and sowing.

Utilization of labour co-operatives during March - November, 2000 at Kurli village is given below:

| Types of Labour Co-operatives | No. of Households availed | No. of days employed | Purpose | | | |
|--|---------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---------|------------|
| | | | Cleaning of forest | Hoeing and sowing seeds | Weeding | Harvesting |
| Sakshari Kumbhari | 25 | 60 | 5 | 5 | 15 | |
| Dhatshu (Labour Group of Maiden) | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | |
| Dhungushu (Labour Group of Unmarried Boys) | | | 1 | | | |
| Pandahar (Group Labour) | | | | | | |
| Dhatshu (Group Labour) | | | | | | |
| Dhatshu (Group Labour) | | | | | | |
| Gutta (Contract) | 4 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 1 |
| Total | 35 | 74 | 22 | 24 | 20 | 8 |

Under all the above categories of labour co-operatives, 74 working days are invested out of which 22 days are invested in cleaning of forests, 24 days for hoeing and sowing of seeds, 20 days for weeding and 8 days for harvesting. This category has Pandahar and Dhatshu were not utilized at Kurli village. The Dongria people said that both types of the Labour Co-operatives have been abandoned.

The following Table shows the utilization of services of members under different types of labour co-operatives of Dongara at Kurli village for the period from March to November, 2000:

| Name of Labour Co-operatives | No. of working days | Labour type | No. of member labour | | Total |
|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|----------------------|--------|-------|
| | | | Male | Female | |
| Sakshari Kumbhari | 60 | Forest labour | 78 | 924 | 1002 |
| | | Hoeing labour | 9 | 100 | 109 |
| | | Total | 87 | 1024 | 1111 |
| Dhatshu (Unmarried girls) | 5 | Forest labour | | 90 | 90 |
| | | Hoeing labour | 9 | 11 | 20 |
| | | Total | 9 | 101 | 110 |
| | | | | | 1221 |

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| Dhangadabati (Unmarried boys) | 1 | Guest labour | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| | | Host labour | 19 | - | 19 |
| | | Total | 20 | 3 | 23 (0.93%) |
| Guta (contract) | 8 | *Guest labour | 104 | 168 | 272 |
| | | *Host labour | 31 | 76 | 107 |
| | | Total | 135 | 244 | 379 (15.44%) |
| Total | 74 | Guest labour | 904 (38%) | 1182 (62%) | 2086 (85%) |
| | | Host labour | 148 (29%) | 220 (71%) | 368 (15%) |
| | | Total | 1052 (43%) | 1402 (57%) | 2454 (100%) |

*Host labour: The labour of a member family who utilizes the labour co-operative

*Guest labour: The members of labour co-operatives who are invited to work for the hour

According to the table the service of as many as 2,454 labour were utilized under labour co-operatives for various agricultural and horticultural operations. Out of them 43% were males and 57% females. Out of the total member labour who served under labour co-operatives, 79% were for *Sahabati* followed by 15.44% for *Guta*, 4.48% for *Dhangadabati*. The helps of *Sahabati* were availed by the Dongrias mostly and frequently *Guta* was utilized moderately while utilization of *Dhangadabati* and *Dhangadabati* were insignificant.

The sex ratio of members of the labour co-operatives was 1333 females per 1000 males. The labour co-operatives comprise of two types of member labour, host-labour and guest labour, from both the sexes including the children. Out of the total member labour (2454), 368 (15%) were host labour and 2086 (85%) were guest labour. In all the types of labour co-operatives the females outnumber the males. Thus the females contribute more labour force to the labour co-operatives than that of their male counterpart.

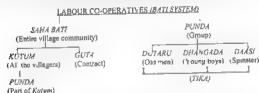
Nature and Types of Labour Co-operatives

Ban system, labour cooperatives, operates at village level. It is more operational in mountainous agricultural and horticultural activities. The different types of labour cooperatives found in the Dongria society are: *Sahabati* or *Kanmihati*, *Pundabati*, *Dhangadabati*, *Daasbati*, *Kaddabati*, *Guta*, *Tika* etc.

Research innovation of Naysk (1989) and Apangata (1994) reveal a four fold typology of 'Labour Co-operatives' among the Dongria. They are

- 1) *Saha* or *Satra Punda* (the labour co-operatives taking all the Dongria households of a village as members)
- 2) *Dwaru Punda* (the labour co-operatives of an age set consisting of like minded old persons)
- 3) *Dhangadu punda* (A group of young bachelor labour), and
- 4) *Daas punda* (A group of dormitory based labour)

As per the study labour co-operatives may be grouped under two broad categories: *Saha* or *Kutumbati* and *Punda*. The former is labour cooperative for all the Dongria households in a village and the latter, small groups among the entire Dongria community of a village on the basis of sex, age-grade, and age sect. The typology of labour cooperative is diagrammatically placed below.



Sahabati

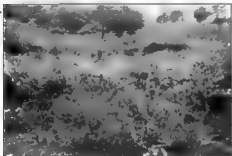
Sahabati comprehends all the works of the entire Dongria villages or settlement. The etymology of the word *Sahabati* is a combination of two words, 'Saha' and *bati*. *Saha* means the entire village and *bati* means labour group or workgroup. So *Sahabati* means the labour group or work group of an entire village. The Dongria also call *Sahabati* as *Kutumbati*. *Kutumbati* is like an extended family consisting of one member-labour from each family in a Dongria village. The members of the workgroup work in union in each other's swidden field for horticulture and agriculture purposes. The labour co-operatives consist of two types of labour. They are host-labour who invites other labour for their co-operation at work, and the guest-labour, who work in the field for one of the member-labour. So in *Sahabati* system every member of a labour co-operatives plays dual roles as a host-labour as well as a guest-labour.

The agreement of *Sahabati* is finalized in the *Kash*, village community house, early in the morning in the presence of village council. A member as per his requirement requests village council for availing the help of labour under *Sahabati*. In the preceding day to the work, an announcement about the place and time for the work of a member labour is made by the Domb messenger in the evening. The timetery of *Sahabati* is chronologically arranged keeping the requests of all the members of a village and the urgency of the work in view.

Sahabati is availed by a member for his work for a day only. In no case it is employed in two consecutive days. It may be employed in alternative day, but for different members so that private work of each member can be attended during the intervals. In the statement of works under labour co-operatives priority is given to widows, old persons and persons whose crop condition would be worse if remain unattended. For employment of labour under *Sahabati* each Dongria family of the village send a labour of either sex, or even children above 9 years to work in the field. If any member fails to send a labour for the *Sahabati*, the head of the family



A Dongria Girl on the way to Market



Horticulture Plantation in ONDA, Parasi area

pays a fine of Rs.20/- per each day's work. Defaulters are asked to appear before the Tribal Council for adjudication of disputes and penal sanctions.

The *Sahabat* consists of both affinal and consanguineal relations of the Dongaria community and his neighbour. The host labour and his family members including children participate in the work either as active or passive workers along with the *Sahabat* workers. The *Sahabat* workers leave village for the Dongar soon after the Sunrise and return to village just before the Sunset. In between, they work hard amidst joyous songs and a dinner break.

The host-labour arranges a feast comprising of rice, dal, curry and gnatl for the workers of *Sahabat*. The feast is served among the workers at noon. The distribution of food is equal for all the workers and is of buffet type. At the end of the work *pejo* drink, a mixture of rice and *manila* gnatl is given to all the workers.

The host-labour pays a token money varying from Rs. 60/- to Rs. 200/- which is deposited at the fund of labour co-operatives and the amount along with the fine are kept with the tribal chief or any Dongria selected for the purpose. The cumulative deposits of funds are spent for *Mewa* festival and feast.

Case study: At Kurli village for the period from April to November 2000, 25 families availed 60 days work under *Sahabat*. As many as 1942 workers, 883 males and 1054 females, participated as member-labour. There were 1705 guest-labour, 237 host-labour and 78 absentee labour. The fine money collected (and to be collected) from the absentee labour amount to Rs.760/. The money deposited in *Sahabat* fund amounts to Rs.12, 000/-. The total fund credited to the account of *Sahabat* fund is Rs.12, 760/.

Out of 60 days of *Sahabat* work, 17 days invested for clearing of forests, 20 days for hoeing and sowing of seeds, 15 days for weeding and 8 days for harvesting. The service of *Sahabat* is opened only for its members. It is operating within the territorial limit of the village. In exceptional cases of Guna contact with *Sahabat* for a piece of work at a high rate of wages, it works either for a member or for outsider. In case of latter the labour co-operatives charge high price, keeping the volume and magnitude of the work in view.

During the field investigation the following cases of *Sahabat* were observed.

Case Study-1: Jakesika Shyam had utilized *Sahabat* thrice and *Dhangudaban* and *Dangriban* once each for the agricultural year (March-November 2000).

Shyam a member of *Sahabat* at Kurli village requested the Naik, the village chief for the help of the *Sahabat*. The Naik in consultation with the village elders decided to extend the help of *Sahabat* to Shyam on 8th November, 2000 in his madden field for cutting *Kaula* crop and collection of *phudanga*. A day before the work Shyam in accompaniment of few children announced about the time, place and purpose of the work before all the members of the *Sahabat*.

On the scheduled date all the Sahabati members left the village after ~~participate~~ for the swollen field of Shri Shyam to help cooperate in his work. Besides all the 10 Sahabati members, two labour of the host family participate in the work. The composition of the workgroup was of multi-caste in nature. The members of class I (a) *Sakari*,² *Jaharikar*,² *Kudrakar*,² *Parhar*,¹¹ and *Mandhar*,¹ formed the workgroup. The work group comprised members like 16 males and 4 females including 18 children and 12 adults. Out of 18 child members, 5 were literate and out of 12 adult members, 4 were literate.

The workgroup began the work, cutting *Kusula* crop and collecting *Mandanga* at about 8 A.M. The female folk of the group while working sang an enchanting song. The translation of the song is placed below.

"O' brothers and uncles let's start a quick work,
For enjoying feast at noon and to resume the work,
And we have to complete it early to get home back"

The host couple prepared food for the dinner in an open kitchen near the *dongar*. Two kids of the couple, the passive participants of the work, played beside the kitchen. The foodstuff for the feast comprised rice 3 *manar* (9.6 kgs), *kandula* (dal) 1 *manu* (3.2 kgs), *mandia* 1 *manu* (3.2 kgs). The host couple supplied the foodstuff and prepared food like rice, dal and gruel, and served the food items among the members of the labour cooperatives.

At noon they invited the guest labour for the feast. In the intermission of the work, the guests got down and enjoyed the food served in buffet. Some guest labour consumed *sasap* juice before taking their dinner and some of them baked their own dry fishes and ate them with the food. After lunch they resumed the work enthusiastically at 1 P.M. The work was finished by 4 P.M. Then once again all the member labours gathered at the open-air-dinning space and consumed mixed gruel of *mandia* and rice. Then they got off for home.

Shyam had paid Rs 60/- as *Sahabatitaka* or *Aaramitaka*. The work was incomplete as it was voluminous which needed more labour for completion. The host decided to engage his family labour to complete the remaining harvesting of crops. The wife of Shri Shyam, who cooked and served the food to the guest labour in the workuse, had delivered a baby girl in the very next morning.

(Case Study-2) *Sakara Magaru* had harvested his *Kusula* crop with the help of labour co-operatives at *Hanahala dongar* near *Kuthi* village. It was a field of mixed crops measuring about 4.00 Acres of *dongar* land. The standing crops in the field were banana, cashew *arhar* *jamba* and *kusula*. Besides, there were fruit trees like pineapples and mangoes.

On 15th November 2000 *Magaru* requested a *Dongria* to make *entertainment* (*Hala* or *Halsal*) for the work in accompaniment of the *Dongria* boys. The next day a *Sahabati* comprising of 28 members moved up to the *dongar* for harvesting *kusula*. The *Sahabati* labour co-operatives comprised members from three class such as *Sakara*,⁴ *Jaharikar*,² and *Mandhar*,¹. Out of 28

member labourers, 14 were males, 12 were females, 10 were children and 18 were adults. Besides, the host couple along with their 5 months old baby (the penultimate participant) were present in the worksite. Only two members of labour co-operatives were absent in the work who were charged with fine.

The members of the *Sahabai* began the harvesting of *Kosala* crop at the dongar at 8 A.M. amidst the pleasure of song sung by the women. The work continued till noon. The host couple prepared the lunch down the dongar and near a stream. There was a lunch-break for half an hour. The lunch included rice of 3 *manas* (9.6 kg), mixed curry of *phadanga* (2.4 *Ado* 1.5 kg) and pumpkin (1 no/3 kg.) and gruel (*mantha* & rice powder (2 *Ado* 1.5 kg). The host couple distributed food among the member- labour in leaf cups.

The guest labour resumed the work immediately after the lunch. The work continued till 4 P.M. After the work, the host served gruel among the workers. Then all of them returned home. The *Sahabai* members decided that the *Arinade* of Rs.60/- and the fine money of Rs40/- (i.e. Rs. 20/- each x 2 absentee members) would be collected later.

Case Study-3: In the agricultural year Wadka Katru of the settlement Kuruvailipadar had engaged the *Sahabai* of village Khambesi twice. The *Sahabai* of village Khambesi comprises 65 members. Each Dongra family of the village was a member in the *Sahabai*. It was divided into two groups. This arrangement was done keeping in view the labour requirements of all the families and the smooth management of time and agricultural works.

Katru had utilized the help of a section of the *Sahabai* of Khambesi village, once for weeding and cutting grass and another for harvesting *Kosala* crop in the sown field at Akrajodi. Dongar (hill) near Kuruvailipadar settlement during July and November 2000 respectively. Katru had approached the village council for the cooperation of the *Sahabai* and engaged the village *Barka*, a Dom, to make announcement about the time and place of the work.

A section of the *Sahabai* comprising of 21 guest-labourers out of 30 members had participated for weeding and cutting grass in the dongar, at Khambesi village and 7 members were absent. Sri Wadka had paid Rs.200/- as *hastirata*. The *Sahabai* members collected fine money for Rs.140/- (i.e. Rs. 20/- each x 7 absentee members) and the amounts were deposited with the village head. The host couple prepared a feast for the guest labour and distributed food like rice, mixed curry and mixed gruel among them at the interval of the work at noon. After the feast, the guest labour resumed the work which went on up to 4 pm. The host couple once again gave *mantha* gruel to all the guest labour at the end of the work before they return back home.

It was observed that for the second time Katru had obtained the help of the *Sahabai* for the harvesting of *Kosala* crop. There were 21 guest-labour of *Sahabai* and 9 members were absent. Katru had paid a sum of Rs. 200/- as *hastirata* and the *Sahabai* members had collected Rs.180/- (i.e. Rs.20/- each) as fine from 9 absentee-members. Like the previous work the host had given feast and a drink of mixed

gruel to the guest-labour. The harvesting work continued from morning till sunset with a lunch break at noon. Besides the help of the guest-labour, 7 family members of the host participated in both the above work.

For the village is a big one, its *Sakubati* has been divided in to two separate *Sakubatis* one for each group of the villagers. Help of *Sakubati* is taken for all the agricultural activities like weeding, cutting grass, harvesting of crops etc. in the swidden fields.

The village council approves help of the *Sakubati* as per the formal approach of a member. The announcement about the work is still done by the village *Borika*, a Dorn. At times the Dorn neighbour also participates in the labour cooperative work.

Pundabati

Punda means group. Unlike *Sakubati* *pundbati* is a small labour co-operative. Each *Pundabati* comprises 10-15 members. As many as 10-15 like-minded persons of a particular clan or even more than one clan form *Pundabati*. *Pundabati* allows both male and female members to work together at the request of a member. If the required volume of the work would be less and the member had finished his quota of working under *Sakubati*, he could invite *Pundabati* to get that work done. The work involves agricultural or horticultural activities in the *dongar*. For a day's work the *Pundabati* money is Rs 50. Every member has equal right to get the services of *Pundabati*. The *Pundabati* workers are given a feast and paid *Pundabati* money. The absentee need not have to pay fine. However, if any one remained absent from work his counterpart would reciprocate the same way. *Pundabati* money is spent on feasts arranged by them.

Pundbati is no more seen operative in village Kurli. It is effectively functioning at Khambhai and Mundbali. Three *Pundabati* cooperatives are functioning at Khambhai and two *Pundabati* at Mundbali.

Case Study: Wardha Katru of Karuvalipadar had availed the services of *Pundabati* of Khambhai twice during March-November 2000: one *Pundabati* for cutting trees and clearing bushes and another for harvesting *Konla* rice. The *Pundabati* composed of a 15-member team jointly with a 6-member host family participated in the work and cleared 4 acres of *dongar* land in 8 hours. The host gave them food at noon and drink of rice-millet gruel at the end of work. Rs 20/- was paid to the *Pundabati* fund. Services of one more cooperative were utilized for harvesting *Konla* rice. Three out of 15 members of the *Pundabati* did not attend the work. Thus among the 12 labourers, 4 were men and 8 were women. In the host family 2 were men and 4 were women. This family did not attend the work for the absentee labourers.

On both the occasions each of the respective host families had given provisions like rice (2 *manas* - 6 Kg), *phudango*, dal (1 *adda* - 750 gm), pumpkin (one - 2.5 Kg) and *mandia*, millet (2 *adda* - 1.5 Kg).

Dasabit

Dasabit or *Dhangdiban* is the labour cooperative of the girl dormitory goes of 12 years of age or a little above. Girls or *Dasika* the girls' dormitory can also become members of *Dasabit* usually a small work-group of 5 to 15 Dongria young girls, either of one clan or of more than one. It operates within one clan territory only. Each member of *Dasabit* helps another in work on reciprocal basis. Since girls are of tender age, light but tedious works like weeding, cleaning, fencing and harvesting are given to them, but not hard works like cutting the trees, digging the soil etc.

Kajari, the chief of the *Dasika* and *Dasabit*, coordinates the work. A member of *Dasabit* may avail the services of the cooperative for his own or for his family. Rs 20/- to Rs 25/- is paid to the cooperative fund. The *Kajari* keeps the account. Absentees do not have to pay fine but obviously do not get help from his/her counterpart. *Dasabit* if required may extend services to non-members too. In this case the cooperative is paid double.

They work in the farm singing. In the intervals they share some dry food and condiments. One would feel as if they work in a festive mood. Rice and *phadung* are served at lunch. The food is served equally in leaf-cups. The meal is served twice—once immediately after the lunch and another at the end of work. The *Dasabit* fund is spent on feasts. Often they spend the money on entertaining their respective partners from other villages attending festivals in the host village.

During March–November 2000 *Dasabit* was engaged 5 times by 5 Dongrias in Kurli, for weeding work. 110 boys and girls participated: 20 were host-labourers and 90 were guest-labourers, and 31 were girls and 9 were boys. All the guest-labourers (*Dasaris*) were girls. A sum of Rs 125/- was deposited in the *Dasabit* fund.

Jakasika Tenda of Kurli utilized *Dasabit* in Mitah Dangar for harvesting Anzula in November, 2000. Ten *Dasaris* participated in the work and 5 *Dasaris* were absent. Tenda paid Rs 20/- instead of Rs 25/- to the *Dasabit* funds as 5 *Dasaris* were absent.

In Khambei and Husei *Dasabit* is not anymore functioning. In Kurli and Mundhal, each only one *Dasabit* was functioning with 15 and 12 *Dasaris* respectively. There could be no *Dasabit* without *Dhangdibara* functioning.

A group of educated boys of Khambei were opposed to the custom of visiting *Dhangadara*. Dongria boys to the *Dhangdibara* in the night. They felt, it was encouraging immoral traffic. They refrained boys to sleep in the *Dhangdibara* in the night and threatened to get their head shaved and cropped to the neck if any such *Dhangadara* who dared visit the *Dhangdibara*. They formed a vigilante squad and chased the boys visiting the girls in the dormitory. Keeping long hair is considered precious for men. So the *Dhangadara* from other villages stopped visiting the *Dhangdibara* at Khambei. Thus the *Dhangdibara* ceased to

function, so also the *Damthatt*. After a gap of four years two *Dhangadibans* resumed functioning but no more *Damthatt*.

Dhangadabatt

Dangadabatt is the labour co-operative formed by Dongria young men, who are suitable for hard works like hacking trees, carrying logs, hoeing and digging pits in mountains etc. The *Dhangadabatt* workers get food and Rs.50/- for a day's work. This cooperative is very important and seen functioning in most Dongria villages.

Kutunguta

A Contract with the *Kunwabari* or *Sekabari* for a specific work is known as *Kutunguta*. Keeping the volume of work to be done and the time that would be required the host family negotiates with the *Kunwabari* about the amount to be paid for the work. On an average, if a work which requires 30 labourers for 3 days the price would be from Rs.1000/- to Rs.5000/-. The amount varies from village to village. There is no provision of giving food to the workers. The *Kutunguta* work continues for two to three consecutive days or till its completion. After finalization of the contract with the *Kutunguta* the amount is paid in advance.

Case Study: Wadek Nabagham of Khambesi had made an advance of Rs.500/- on 14th October, 2000 for fencing around his pineapple orchards which was scheduled to be done by *Kutunguta* during January, 2001. Kadrika Raju of the same village had made an advance for Rs.500/- on 10th October, 2000 to engage the *Kutunguta* during December, 2000 for harvesting turmeric and sowing the seeds in the *dongar*.

Dutarubatt

Dutarubatt is the old men's labour co-operative. Likeminded old men, small in number, often form a labour co-operative to help each other in their respective swiddens over drinks.

Kaddabatt

When any labour co-operative is invited by a person, who is not a member is called *Kaddabatt*. Besides the feast and drink, the host has to pay double the money. In this case of *Kaddabatt* the attendance of all the members of the cooperative is obligatory.

Tika

The contract for any type of labour co-operative, except the *Kunwabatt*, is known as *Tika*. The cost of *Tika* work for any labour co-operative varies from Rs.3000/- to Rs.5000/-. Money has to be paid in advance. Dongria and Doriba can go in for *Tika* work. Under *Tika* work the labourers are not given any food and implements required for the work. It is a contract against the work. At the approach

of festivals and ceremonies the Dongria get tempted to accept more number of such works under *Guta* and *Tika* to earn money to meet the expenses on those occasions. The Domb neighbours engage the Dongria on *Tika* by luring them for buffalo meat and wine. The Dongria have strong weakness for meat and wine. Often for meat and wine they work in *Tika* for a low price.

Kuli / Mula

The royal affinity of the Dongrias with the Niyamgiri King, short supply of money and the tradition of labour co-operatives had kept the people away from getting engaged as *Kuli*, a paid labour. Nowadays, they engage *Kuli* and get engaged as *Kuli*. The prevalent wage rate for a *kuli* for 6 hours of work is Rs.25/- for men and Rs 20/- for women. The *kulis* are engaged usually in construction works of roads and buildings and the work in farms and fields. The Dongria and Doms in the study villages work as *Kulis*. A few Dongrias often borrow cash and grains and accept advance payments against a future work in rush period. In such cases the cost of the labour becomes less by Rs.5/-.

Cooperation within Family

In polygynous families co-wives perform household activities on the basis of mutual cooperation and sharing. In some cases, individual wives independently manage and maintain their own cultivated fields with the help of husbands. Often one wife does the household chores and another works in the field along with her husband and children.

After separation of an extended family brothers and sons continue to cooperate frequently in economic and ritual activities. New houses are built by the collective labour of the extended family. When more labour is required for house construction, labour co-operatives are invited. For house construction and for certain agricultural work kinsmen are also invited who do not take wages.

Labour Co-operatives: Change and Dynamics

Kudubun, Katungira, Tika and *Kuli* or *Mula* are the examples to understand the dynamics of labour co-operatives among the Dongria Kondhs. Under the changing circumstances the Dongria have started working for money and the Domb neighbours engage them in various work. However there seems to be some sort of continuity of the mechanism of traditional labour co-operatives. Acceptance of advance payment for a piece of work during busy agricultural season is becoming more popular. Co-operatives on contract basis like *Guta* and *Tika* and purchase and sale of labour in the name of labour co-operatives leads to exploitations of the Dongria Kondh, which is beyond their control. The traditional value of mutual help and cooperation is slowly declining. Labour goes to market. Individual Dongria Kondh is working as *Kuli* and *Mula*. At the same time of course labour co-operatives are still effectively and widely being practiced.

Using the institution of Labour Co-operatives as a development input

Social science research translates knowledge into formulation of plans, policies and these practices in development intervention. Social scientists in charge of development administration take advantages of the research findings on the institution of labour co-operatives among the Dongria society. The case study presented below explains how the institution of labour co-operative can be used as a development input which not only reduces the cost of the schemes but also ensures peoples' participation in the development process.

During the period (1982-87), a young Anthropologist as Special Officer of the Micro Project, DKDA, Chankona, Rayagada district had effectively utilized almost all types of labour co-operatives in the development works mostly for the benefits of the community oriented infrastructure development schemes and income and employment generating schemes for individual families. The specific works for which labour co-operatives were utilized are nursery development, road cleaning and road construction and repairing, construction of *Guanmandira*, building and community houses, environmental sanitation and plantation of fruit orchards and horticulture development including spices like turmeric and ginger cultivation. The orchard works include plantations like pineapples, bananas, oranges, mangoes, jackfruits, lemons etc. and cleaning, fencing and weeding and maintenance of fruit orchards. The advantages of utilization of labour co-operatives are: (i) It is cheaper. The surplus amount was reinvested by taking up more area on development of plantation or other development work for the Dongria. (ii) People participate in their own work, which not only ensures the good quality of work but also its timely completion. (iii) Traditional social value induces the development activities and helps in perpetuation of tradition and thus maintains group solidarity. (iv) Widows and invalid persons and the new settlers in the villages had availed the benefits of land allotment, labour co-operatives and the development process.

The idea of utilizing labour co-operatives as development input was very popular and well accepted in most of the Dongria villages. Plantation and horticultural operations were developed in about 8000 acres of *dungar* land effectively and successfully. The investment of labour cost for the development work varied from Rs 100 to Rs 150 per acre. The villagers were given assistance in cash, which were paid to the funds of labour co-operatives and the people contributed labour in a cooperative spirit. The other inputs like plantation materials, fertilizers etc. were provided by the DKDA. Food was also provided for the members of labour co-operatives.

The labour co-operatives have helped a lot in making the mountainous fruit orchards success. The *dungars* (swidden fields) of the Dongrias at that time earned the fame of 'Fruit Orchards of Rayagada' area.

Conclusion

The varieties of labour cooperative in Dongria society attest how people of different age-groups, social groups and the groups of young unmarried girls

organize themselves to work, meeting the needs of labour by undertaking all kinds of task. The teamwork through labour co-operatives amidst feasts and songs speaks of the vibrant community spirit. The tradition of labour management is governed by the principle of equality and reciprocity. The rich and the poor work together in each other's field. The system does not discriminate the capacity of men, women and even children for work. There is strong positive sanction for all sorts of cooperative work. In case of dispute, the village council arbitrates. As the swidden work is more labour intensive and the people do not have enough money to pay for the wages people depend upon exchange labour. Thus, the labour co-operatives in a big way help in the production process. Money deposited in the co-operative fund is spent on the *Méru* festivals, treatment of guests and other community functions. The labour cooperatives are valued more in socio-cultural than economic terms.

The labour co-operatives can be gamfully utilized as a development input. A society in which influence of money economy has yet to influence the livelihood of people, mutual cooperation at the level of social groups and institutions becomes an assured source of their economic strength. Development planners and policy makers are equivocal on securing participation of the people in the development process. Participatory development is considered an effective strategy and the goal of tribal development. The sponsored development schemes could accrue dividends to the Dongria if the institution of labour cooperatives could be tapped. Self Help Groups (SHGs) could be help formed on a sustainable basis in the lines of the institutions of labour cooperatives.

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Lanjia Sacra Mode of Subsistence: Change and Development

S. C. Mohanty
P.K. Nayak

Introduction

The term subsistence connotes a marginal level of human existence. In an economy called subsistence economy the provisions are just enough to meet bare necessities and there is hardly any surplus.

The Lanjia Sacra represent a primitive section of the Sacra tribe. They inhabit a contiguous mountainous territory stretching across Rayagada and Ganapat districts of Southern Orissa. They are traditionally shifting cultivators and at the same time have expertise in terrace cultivation. They depend upon land and forest for their economy and supplement their earnings by occasional hunting, fishing, wage earning and round the year forest collections. They exhibit a high degree of indigenous skill, ingenuity and technological outfit for preparing the terraces with rebuilt water management systems. They mainly grow rice in terraced fields and a variety of minor millets, cereals, and pulses in the swaddens. The remarkable features of their socio-economic life include their traditional system of labour cooperative called *danir* which ensures them supply of labour for labour intensive operations like swadden cultivation, house construction, terrace making and terrace cultivation, and a host of other activities in the village. Nayak's precise account of the tribe's way of life with reference to swadden and terrace cultivation deserves mention here: "The Sacra since generations living in hill slopes and mountain terrains have been deriving nourishment from the resource bases of the hills and forests in multiple of such ways satiating small needs and making a bare minimum living. One of the main mode of living devised and adopted by them is swadden cultivation." (1992: 36). They raise a variety of crops in their swadden with the help of a small number of implements. The methods employed are crude, the process is labour-intensive and the productivity is low. "Up until the time the hilltops and hill slopes were having verdant forest growth, the Sacra were exploiting the hills and swaddens with much and fury. Swadden cultivation was their way of life. Establishing small settlements nearer to the swadden fields was the practice and moving the settlement site alongside moving into virgin swadden plots was the norm. With the depletion of forest growth and the underwoods, swadden cultivation did not pay dividends and the Sacra started preparing terraced fields by stone bunding method in an ingenious way." (Ibid, 1992: 36).

After independence the Lanjia Sacra came to be exposed to tribal development programmes. During the 5th Plan, Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) approach was adopted and Lanjia Sacra was identified as one among 11 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) in Orissa. For the all-round development of the Lanjia Sacra two Micro Projects, one located at Puttasing in Rayagada district and another at Serrango in Ganapat district, have been established. The Micro Projects adopted the basic approach of Tribal Sub Plan, that is, location-specific and community specific holistic development of the target area and the people. The objective was to raise the living conditions of the Lanjia Sacra and change them from a primitive and pre agricultural stage of shifting cultivation to modern agriculture and allied pursuits.

Change and Development: A Case study of LSDA, Sarango

Lanja Santa Development Agency (LSDA), Sarango was set up in 1979. It has implemented some income generating and infrastructure development schemes for the Lanja Santa of 2 settlements of the Agency area primarily aiming at reducing the incidence of shifting cultivation and restoring the degraded hill slopes as well as the natural environment by way of providing alternative cash crop of modern agriculture, profitable horticulture and allied pursuits along with and development, input assistance irrigation facilities etc. It has also tried within its limited means to develop critical and essential infrastructure and services which are important for income generation such as road communications, education, health care, drinking water, housing etc. in this remote tribal pocket. Many of these schemes, especially those in agriculture and conservation, irrigation, horticulture, drinking water and housing have farmed well and yielded good results because of popular acceptance.

Besides the Mohn Project, other development agencies such as, the ILO (later ILO) Block of Curuma (1984) and (ILO) 4, of Parikhemundi also have undertaken some development works in the sectors like road communication, drinking water, agriculture, horticulture, irrigation etc. The overall impact of the exercises undertaken by all these agencies is conspicuous in the process of transition set in motion in the area and in people's way of life. This change has reduced their dependence on traditional mode of subsistence derived from shifting cultivation and forest collection and led them to engage in gainful economic pursuits. Though they have not totally abandoned shifting cultivation they have found a profitable alternative in modern agriculture and horticulture practices, more particularly in cashew plantations introduced by the Mohn Project in their unproductive wastelands, high and dry lands and denuded hill slopes. Of course the Lanja Santa beneficiaries deserve a major part of the credit as they shedding their ignorance, tribal suspicion and inhibitions have come forward to accept and derive benefits out of these schemes for their own betterment. The results of this exercise in planned change based upon the findings of a socio-economic survey conducted recently i.e. during 2001-02 in this area will be analysed in the following.

Community Benefit Oriented (CBO) Programmes

The present position compared to that existing 15 years ago shows that significant progress has been made in the provision of essential infrastructure in sectors like road communication, education, childcare service (ICDS Anganwadi Programme), drinking water, irrigation and electrification within this period. These facilities have been improved by the up-gradation of existing ones and creation of new ones as the case may be. Most remarkably all the 21 settlements now have 13 units of drinking water sources of different kinds as against 1 units existing in 11 settlements in 1980. At present there is no drinking water problem in these localities. Similar trends are noticed in case of growth of irrigation facilities (333%), educational institutions (240%), road works (300% & 200% respectively for village link roads and internal street roads), village electrification (300%) and community centers (100%). The serenity of the picturesque Santa villages dotted across the hills and the valleys surrounded by one hounding hill streams, plantations, arched patches and terraced fields have got a new look on account of the province

of schools, Anguash centers, community centers (Kashughur), concrete or metal street roads, irrigation structures, electric installations, sanitary wells, tube wells, culverts and pipelines with public water taps most of which have been developed by the Micro Project. Electricity has reached 15 villages, though the quality and conditions of service leaves much to be desired and domestic electrification is yet to start for prohibitive cost of energy. Negligible growth is only noticed in case of nonformal education centers being run by the Micro Project and this is due to their closure after the functioning of Anguash centers in the area.

Major gaps in many other essential infrastructure sectors include the absence of health care, veterinary, postal, telecom, banking, agriculture, co-operation and marketing services. However, the situation has improved between then and now. The Lajtha Saktas now demand better services and facilities for roads, education, electricity, irrigation, drinking water (especially the piped water supply that has become very popular after its introduction in 2 villages and in response to the popular demand for more projects for two villages are nearing completion).

Individual Benefit Oriented (IBO) Income Generation Programmes

In the ongoing exercise, strengthening of agriculture supported by land development, irrigation, modernization and technology up-gradation of farming practices, horticulture and agro-forestry have been kept in the center stage as core programmes for their economic development with due emphasis on allied sectors like animal husbandry and cottage industry.

The basic objective of these infrastructure and economic development programmes is to wean the PTGs away from their forest based subsistence activities such as the slash and burn cultivation and rehabilitate them through settled agriculture, horticulture, agro-forestry and such other practices ensuring the best utilization of the available natural and human resources and by providing them productive assets ensuring adequate income generation, a dependable livelihood and better living conditions. After more than two decades of conducting the exercise, the time has come to assess the achievements. Undoubtedly, the development intervention has made a cumulative impact on the life and culture of the Saktas. It is evident from the achievements made in different fields as found in analysis of the relevant data. In order to assess the extent of progress made in various sectors, the data of the recently undertaken socio-economic survey has been matched with that of 1980 and 1982 (as the case may be depending upon availability of the data) that is the initial phase of the Micro Project.

Expansion of Farmland for Settled Agriculture via Soil Shifting Cultivation

Some tangible results in this regard are evident from the comparative positions between 1982 and 2002. During this period the population and number of households in all the 2 settlements have increased by 78.62 percent and 57.29 percent respectively. As compared to this, the number of land holding households has increased at the faster rate of 8 percent bringing about corresponding reduction in the number of landless households at a negative rate of 46.26 percent. This indicates that more and more Lajtha Saktas are taking to settled cultivation.

and abandoning paddy cultivation, the growth rate of shifting cultivator households has been much slower (45.9%) during this period.

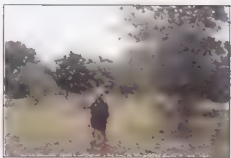
| YEAR | Total Number of Households | Total Population | Number of Landless Households | Number of Households Possessing Farmland | Number of Households Dependent on Shifting Cultivation |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|--|--|
| 1982 | 789 (100) | 2863 (100) | 147 (18.63) | 642 (81.37) | 778 (96.60) |
| 2002 | 1241 (100) | 5114 (100) | 79 (6.36) | 1162 (93.63) | 1135 (91.43) |
| Growth Rate (1982-02) (%) | 57.29 | 78.62 | -46.26 | 81.00 | 45.99 |

The implementation of soil conservation and land development programmes has led to the expansion of farmland area. In 1982, the total farmland area was only 433.51 acres forming only 4.80 percent of the total land area of 9031.5 acres. By 2002, it expanded to 1830.50 acres accounting for 20.27 percent of the total land area. This growth rate (322.25%) is more than two times that of the shifting cultivation area, which is 175.46%.

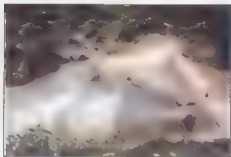
| YEAR | Total Land Area of all the 21 Settlements (Ac) | Total Farmland Area (Ac) | Total Area (Approx) Covered under Shifting Cultivation (Ac) |
|---------------------------|--|--------------------------|---|
| 1982 | 9031.51 (100) | 433.51 (4.80) | 683 (7.56) |
| 2002 | 9031.51 (100) | 1830.50 (20.27) | 1891.39 (20.83) |
| Growth Rate (1982-02) (%) | (100) | 322.25 | 175.46 |

The expansion of farmland area has changed the equation of average landholding size per household and per capita from 0.67 to 1.57 Ac and from 0.18 to 0.36 Ac for the landowning households (growth rates 134.32% and 111.11%) respectively. The corresponding figures for all households are also higher, i.e. from 0.55 to 1.47 Ac and 0.15 to 0.36 Ac (growth rates 167.27% & 140%).

| YEAR | Average Land Holding Size (Ac) | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
| | For Land Holding Households | | For All Households | |
| | Per Household | Per Capita | Per Household | Per Capita |
| 1982 | 0.67 | 0.18 | 0.55 | 0.15 |
| 2002 | 1.57 | 0.36 | 1.47 | 0.36 |
| Growth Rate (1982-02) (%) | 134.32 | 111.11 | 167.27 | 140.00 |



Cashew Orchard in SDA, Chandragiri area



Irrigation Project in SDA, Chandragiri area

With this kind of development, the profile of categories of farmers according to their landholding size has also changed. It is seen that during 1982, the bulk of the landholding households (77.95%) came under the marginal farmer category and the rest (3.42%) were small farmers with 2.6 - 5.0 acres of land. There were no medium farmers and big farmers having more than 5 acres of land. This situation has changed by 2002. Farmers holding 2.5 acres of land form the majority (48.35%), showing a growth rate of 421.74 percent and pushing down the marginal farmers having less than 1 acre of land from the majority rank (63.37% in 1982) to 2nd position (37.31%). The number of small farmers has increased 7.5 times from 3.42 percent to 25.85 percent (growth rate 251.85%). Four new medium farmers having land above 5 acres have appeared on the scene in the meantime against nil in 1982. Their growth rate is a phenomenal 400 percent.

| YEAR | Total Number of Households | Number of Landless Households | Number of Landholding Households into Successive Categories of Farmers | | | | TOTAL |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|--|----------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|
| | | | MARGINAL | | SMALL | MEDIUM | |
| | | | Up to 1 Ac. | 1-2.5 Ac. | 2.6-5 Ac. | 5+ Ac. | |
| 1982 | 789 (100) | 147 (18.63) | 500 (63.37) | 11% (14.57) | 27 (3.42) | Nil (0) | 642 (81.37) |
| 2002 | 1241 (100) | 79 (6.36) | 463 (37.31) | 600 (48.35) | 95 (7.65) | 4 (0.32) | 162 (93.63) |
| Growth Rate (1982-02)(%) | 57.29 | -46.26 | -7.40 | 421.74 | 251.85 | 400 | 81.00 |

Value Addition to Farmland by the Provision of Irrigation

Water is the primary input for successful agriculture. The Laxmi Sarda is already endowed with the indigenous skill of water management associated with land terracing in their difficult terrain. As they are fully aware of the value of water for settled agriculture, the irrigation facilities created by the development agencies have gained a high level of popularity. In most cases, the Sarda farmers have come forward to demand construction of irrigation structures, presenting definite proposals suggesting the location, source and type of structure feasible.

To meet their needs a number of irrigation structures have been built. In 1982 there were only 72 dugwells sunk with assistance from ITDA, Paralekhemundi irrigating 38 acres of land and accounting for only 8.77 percent of the total farmland (433.51 Acs). In the mean time 24 mini irrigation projects (MIPs) and water-harvesting structures (WHS) have come up in 13 villages covering a total ayacut of 265.27 acres i.e. 61.49 percent of the total farmland area. Including the ayacut of the 72 dugwells the total ayacut comes to 307.15 Acs i.e. 70.78 percent of the total farmland area (1830.50 Acs) by 2002. The growth rate in terms of ayacut is a whopping 708.29 percent.

| YEAR | Dug Wells | | More Irrigation Projects | | Water Harvesting Structures | | TOTAL | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| | Number of Villages Units | Ayacut (Ac) | Number of Villages Units | Ayacut (Ac) | Number of Villages Units | Ayacut (Ac) | Number of Villages Units | Ayacut (Ac) |
| 1982 | X 72 | 38 | - | - | - | - | X 72 | 38 (8.77) |
| 2002 | X 72 | 38 | 13 22 | 247.27 | 2 2 | 18 | 13 96 | 207.15 (1.678) |
| Growth Rate (%) | X 0 | 0 | 1300 2200 | 247.27 | 200 200 | 1800 | X 33.13 | 708.29 |

Development of Horticultural Assets

The Larja Sairs are plant lovers. They take every care to preserve the fruit plants like date palm, mango, jackfruit, *amul*, *salap*, tamarind, etc in their villages, hills and swiddens. Because of this, the horticulture programme introduced as an alternative to swidden cultivation has become very popular. Now, besides the development of kitchen gardens and backyard plantations, mixed orchards and plantations of commercial cash crops, cashew have been raised in wastelands and hill slopes often covering parts of swiddens. Especially the cashew plantation drive has received overwhelming popular response for the low cost of maintenance and high profitability. It has turned into a people's programme and gathered momentum. They are now growing cashew on their own initiative without depending on external assistance that they received in the initial phases. At present, more than 80 percent farm has own cashew orchards from which comes a large part of their income. Helping them to enhance their level of income, it has emerged as a major economic pursuit. The largest number of Sairu households (52%), depends on it as their primary source of livelihood and another 15 percent, as their secondary source. As a result, the practice of shifting cultivation is becoming less popular.

| YEAR | TREES | | | BACKYARD/ KITCHEN GARDEN | | ORCHARDS | | TOTAL | | AVERAGE AREA OF PLANTATION | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| | Total Number of Households | Number of Households having | Total Number of Trees | Average per House hold | Number of House holds having | Area (Ac) | Number of House holds having | Area (Ac) | Number of House holds having | Area (Ac) | Per House hold (Ac) | Per Capita (Ac) |
| 1982 789 | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| 2002 1241 (.09) (100) | 1241 | 1241 | 119973 | 97 | 1125 | 161.2 (90.65) | 1132 | 875.35 (91.22) | 1240 | 1036.6 (99.92) | 0.83 (1.148) | 0.20 |

The available data show that horticulture plantations in the form of kitchen gardens, backyard plantations and orchards now cover 11.48 percent (10% 59 acres) of the total land area and almost all the households i.e. 1240 (99.92%) possess plantations of one kind or other. The average area of plantation per household and *per capita* comes to 0.83 Ac and 0.28 Ac respectively. The average number of trees per household is as high as 97 and most of it are cashew plants.

Growth of Animal Resources

The Saons are fond of raising livestock such as goats, sheeps, pigs and poultry birds. They also rear bullocks and buffaloes, not for milk but for agricultural purposes. Livestock add to their household assets, provide them with animal food as and when required and add to their household income.

During 1982 the population of domestic animals in the area was 2560 at an average of 3.24 animals per household. By 2002, their population multiplied more than 2 times to reach 5614 registering a growth rate of 119.30 percent and raising the average per household to 4.52. It is worthwhile to mention that animals were the figures indicate differential growth rates. Within this period the population of pigs, cows, buffaloes and other kinds of animals has declined while that of the goats, sheep, bullocks, and poultry birds increased. This indicates a change in the people's needs and preferences for different kinds of animals.

Now 82 percent of the households possess livestock. Among all the animals the bullocks were in majority in 1982 but by 2002 poultry birds have come to occupy this position. However, the population of bullocks still remains large as they along with cows and buffaloes, are used as draught animals in settled agricultural operations. Their population growth follows the trend of farmland expansion, and for that matter, the growth of household landholding size showing increase in activities relating to artilled cultivation.

| POSSESSION OF LIVESTOCK | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|--------|---|------|---------|-------|--------|-------|----------|-----------|--------|-------|
| YEAR | Number of Households | | Number of Different Categories of Animals | | | | | | | | | |
| | Total Number of Households | Having | Not having | Pigs | Poultry | Sheep | Goats | Cows | Bullocks | Buffaloes | Others | Total |
| 1982 | 789 | X | X | 226 | 563 | 2 | 436 | 346 | 776 | 136 | 75 | 2560 |
| 2002 | 1241 | 1019 | 222 | 70 | 2881 | 7 | 1008 | 170 | 631 | 115 | | 5614 |
| | (+00) | (82.1) | (17.9) | | | | | | | | | |
| Growth Rate (%) | | | | -69 | 411.7 | 250 | 131.19 | 50.87 | 18.7 | -15.44 | +00.00 | 19.3 |

Rise in Net Worth of Households

The data on the average value of household assets possessed by the Saora households during 1980/82 is not available for comparison. However, the factors analyzed so far in respect of growth of landholding size, value addition to farmlands by irrigation provisions, growth of horticultural assets and population of domestic animals possessed by the households establish the fact that the net worth of the Saora households has risen much above 1980 levels. Moreover, during the recent survey, the improvement in the asset ownership position of the Saora households was conspicuous. Now in every village including the remote villages, some small and beautifully designed *porcha* houses have replaced old huts. Besides land, trees, houses and animals, they now possess modern articles like radios, flashlights, bicycles, watches, wooden and plastic furniture etc. The additional income from cashew plantations, settled agriculture and wage earning has helped them to acquire such assets. Hence, the average value of household assets has gone up to Rs 72,900/- and the *per capita* value to Rs 17,690.55.

Improvement of Household Economic Conditions

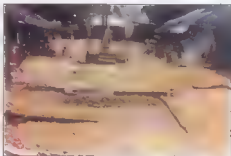
Under the circumstances of planned change and economic development discussed above, the household economy of the people has risen above the levels of pre-project period. The data reveals that in 1980 the average annual household income from all sources was only Rs 995/- and the *per capita* income Rs 195/-. The major chunk of it (52%) came from traditional, secondary sources like collection and sale of minor forest produce, wage earning and animal rearing. Earnings from the primary sources i.e., settled and shifting cultivation contributed the remaining 48 per cent. Against this low level of income, the average expenditure remained on the higher side i.e., Rs 1211/-. Consequently, people being unable to make both ends meet with such meager income incurred debts and suffered from the evils of chronic indebtedness in the form of bondage and exploitation. Not a single Saora family could therefore cross the poverty line.

This situation has changed. By 2002 the average household income has risen to the level of Rs 12,847/- and the *per capita* income, to Rs 3,117/- recording the growth rates of 1191.11 percent and 1497.89 percent respectively. Incomes generated by the primary sources largely constituted by agriculture and horticulture account for 54 percent and the rest 46 per cent comes from the secondary sources like shifting cultivation, wage earning, animal husbandry, forest collection, animal business, service, and other semi-skilled jobs that has emerged in the mean time effecting occupational diversification. Their growth rates have been 1355.09 per cent and 1039.12 percent respectively.

This rise in the income level has influenced the pattern of expenditure. In 1980, when the level of income was very low, a major part of it (83%) was going towards meeting the barest minimum needs such as food. But now, in tune with the rising income level, the expenditure on food increased by 672.74 per cent from Rs 10,11/- to Rs 7814/- but in terms of its percentage to the total household expenditure it has gone down from 83 per cent to 63 per cent. This means there is scope for spending on other needs like housing, rituals, customary gifts and social obligations,



Soy Plantation in SDA, Chandigarh area



Drying Maize under the sun by Sarda families

health care, clothes and ornaments, purchase and improvement of assets like land, bullocks, plantations, household articles, implements, utensils, entertainment, children's education and the like. Hence quite visibly the spending on such non-food items has increased from 7 per cent to 17 per cent of the total expenditure at a growth rate of 2092.48 per cent that is much higher than that on food.

The total average household expenditure has increased up to the level of Rs 12 345.59 and per capita expenditure Rs 2 995.87 growing at rates of 913.67 per cent and 1154.55 per cent respectively. Thus compared to 1980 levels the gap of deficit between income and expenditure has been minimised reducing debt and bondage.

The improvement in the economic conditions of the Langia Saura is conspicuous. 52 per cent of them have crossed the poverty line. To put it otherwise, the number of below the poverty line (BPL) households in 2002 is 598 shows a negative growth rate of -26.45 per cent as compared with all the 811 BPL households in 1980. This is no mean achievement.

| Year | Total Number of Households | ANNUAL INCOME (average) | | | | ANNUAL EXPENDITURE (average) | | | | Number of Households Below Poverty line |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|---|
| | | Primary Sources (Rs) | Secondary Sources (Rs) | Total Per Household (Rs) | Per Capita Income (Rs) | Food (Rs) | Others (Rs) | Total Per Household (Rs) | Per Capita (Rs) | |
| 1980 | 811 | 478.69 (48.11) | 516.31 (5.89) | 995 (100) | 195.10 | 101.23 (83.63) | 206.68 (16.97) | 127.9 (100) | 238.4 | 813 (100) |
| 2002 | 1241 | 8963.4 (54.22) | 5881.4 (45.78) | 2846.8 (100) | 3117.5 | 78.42 (63.29) | 453.4 (36.71) | 12345.8 (100) | 2995.9 | 598 (48.19) |
| Growth Rate (%) | 52.64 | 155.09 | 139.12 | 1191.2 | 1497.89 | 472.74 | 2092.48 | 913.67 | 154.55 | -26.45 |

Growth and Diversification of Occupations

The occupational pattern of the Langia Saura during 1980 shows their exclusive dependence on traditional economic pursuits. The largest number of households (93.74%), pursued shifting cultivation (78.4% as primary occupation and 17.34 percent as secondary occupation) followed by wet cultivation (73.9%), forest collection (60.7%), wage earning (48.7%), and animal husbandry (10.9%).

The development intervention has effected diversification and mobility in their occupational structure. In the traditional sector, shifting cultivation has gone down to the third position with 91.45 percent households pursuing it, majority of whom (87.55%), as secondary occupation and only 3.62 percent, as primary occupation. Forest collection has taken the first position engaging 97.1 percent households but only as a secondary means of livelihood. In the second rank comes settled cultivation taken up by 93.63 percent of households (4.1% as primary and 52% as secondary). In this order, animal husbandry ranks fourth engaging 82.1 percent of the households but in the secondary sector.

of income via agriculture, horticulture and wage for acquisition of permanent, productive and personal assets like farmland, drought animals, modern implements, articles, dress, ornaments and furniture and also for raising pucca houses and plantations.

Growth of Population & Literacy

Planned change produces a multiplier effect spreading to the interlinked sectors. Improved living conditions also manifest in growth of population, literacy and education. In the present, as the growth of population and households shows a negative trend between '90s and '98's i.e. the initial phase of the Project. Later with the initiation of development works in the population rose to 5114 in 2002 at the rate of 2.78 per cent whereas the growth rate of the Santal tribe between '90 and 1991 censuses was only 3 percent. But the average household size came down from 5.14 to 4.7 leading to smaller nuclear families.

The progress made in the fields of literacy and education is remarkable. Till the late seventies the project area had a very low level of literacy i.e. a miserable 1.9 percent. With the proliferation of educational institutions and exposure to the agencies of change during the eighties and nineties, the people's level of awareness about the benefits of education has risen. Within a short span of time following the inception of the Micro Project i.e. by 2002, the level of literacy of the Jangra Sants of the project area shot up to 83 percent at a remarkable growth rate of 20.27 percent. Now it is 23.89 percent that is higher than that for all tribes in the state (22.3%) and in Jangpur district (8.62%) as per 1991 census. Between 1990-2002 and between '98-2002, the literacy growth rates in percentage terms have been 446.84 percent and 24.61 percent respectively. In terms of absolute numbers the number of literates has increased from 218 in '982 to 1222 in 2002 at the growth rate of 413.44 percent.

To look at an important indicator of development i.e. women's literacy the figures on sex wise break up of literates for 1990 is not available for comparison. In 1992 there are only 23 female literates against 95 male literates. By 2002 the number of female literates rose to 137 accounting for 4.48 percent of the total females (higher than 5.48% tribal female literacy recorded in 1991 census for Jangpur district) as against 845 males (13.7%) and registering a phenomenal growth at the rate of 510.5 percent. The numerical growth rate of male literates has remained in the lower side i.e. only 293.03 percent for this period. However in numerical strength as well as percentage wise the male literates have always maintained superiority over the females.

The provision regarding spread of education shows that in '982 only 25 per cent of Santal children of school going age (5-14) were attending schools. In 2002 this percentage has increased to 40.71 per cent. In absolute numbers this growth rate is 4.84 per cent.

Looking at these figures one can say that there is some improvement in the situation but not up to the expectations, as more than three fourths of the tribemen remain illiterate and 43 children among every 100 of school going age, majority of

whom are girls, stay at home to idle away their time in play or to lend a helping hand to their parents to earn their livelihood. For the situation to remain like this the tribal parents alone are not responsible. A major part of the blame should go to the people's economic conditions which render the children's services essential in undertaking various economic pursuits and, also to the miserable conditions of most of the schools running without any teacher or with a single teacher, who more often than not, remains absent. This is common knowledge.

| YEAR | HOUSEHOLD | | POPULATION | | | LITERACY | | | EDUCATION | |
|-----------------|-----------|------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| | Number | Size | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | Children of School Going Age (5-14) | Total Number in School |
| 1960 | 813 | 5.14 | | | 4182 (100) | | | (1.9) | | |
| 1982 | 789 | 3.63 | | | 2863 (100) | 215 | 23 | 238 (8.31) | 1351 (100) | 337 (24.94) |
| 2002 | 1241 | 4.12 | 2502 (100) | 2612 (100) | 5114 (100) | 845 (33.77) | 577 (14.43) | 1222 (23.9) | 1174 (100) | 478 (40.71) |
| Growth Rate (%) | 52.64 | | | | 22.28 | 293.03 | 1539.13 | 413.44 | -13.50 | 41.84 |

Conclusion

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the results of tribal development should not be judged by statistics or by the amount of money spent but by the quality of life that has evolved. Socio-economic development is a device to improve the quality of life of the people. "It encompasses a spectrum of activities and human mobilization to make people stand on their own feet and break away all the 'structural disabilities which chain them to the condition in which they live' (Nehru, 1989: 48). Moreover, quality of life depends on the availability of as well as access to the most basic needs such as, water, food, clothing, shelter, health care and primary education. The quantity of these needs is based upon (i) command over existing resources, (ii) development of human resources and (iii) development of technology.

For the Lanja Saora of the Serango area the process of socio-economic transformation has been set in motion. The signs of change are visible. Yet there is still a long way to go. The level of literacy and education, health care and such other essential facilities needs to be raised further. There are 79.636% landless households and 46.33731% marginal farmer households with less than 1 acre of land. To provide at least 2 acres of farmland to each household has not been possible for the pressure of growing population and the fixed land area as well as the undulating physiography of the terrain limiting the scope for expansion. Of course, by adoption of soil conservation and land development measures, modern

agricultural and horticultural techniques and practices, productivity has increased. Horticulture, in the form of cashew plantation has emerged as a profitable enterprise. But a note of caution should be sounded here. Plantation of cashew as mono-culture. The eco system maintains itself upon interdependence of a variety of species. The impact of growing a single plant species on a large scale in the area on the natural environment needs to be studied in order to avoid calamities, if any, in future.

While the cashew plantation drive fared well, some other horticultural programmes such as coffee and banana plantations and cultivation of spices have not succeeded in the same way for want of technical and marketing support. However, on the brighter side the initiation to 'the settled agricultural way of life' has marked the beginning of a new chapter in the socio-economic and culture history of the people. The alien but innovative traits, particularly the skill and technique of agriculture have diffused into the community and there is greater acceptance of these even at the level of individual cultivators. The spread of innovative ideas in the interior villages has been effected on their own initiative under the economic development programme' (Nasak, 1992: 17). Whatever tangible achievements made has been possible due to people's own initiatives and their active participation in the programmes.

Lastly, one must consider the impact of this development intervention on shifting cultivation. The data analysed in this paper indicate that (i) over these two decades the shifting cultivator households have grown at a slower pace than all the households and the landholding households reducing their proportion from 59 to 91 per cent in the total composition, (ii) similarly, the swidden cultivation area has expanded at a rate that is less than half of that of farmland area, (iii) parts of the swiddens are now coming under the cover of cashew plantation, (iv) the extent of dependence on shifting cultivation as a source of livelihood is a slow growing less with the majority of shifting cultivator households (87.55% out of total 91.45%) taking it up as a secondary source of livelihood and (v) the average household size has declined, too, a factor indicating a shift from this labour intensive mode of subsistence to more efficient methods. The enhanced income from settled agriculture, horticulture and other new pursuits has helped in weakening of the stronghold of shifting cultivation on people.

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Development of Primitive Tribal Groups in Orissa : An Evaluation

P K Acharya

Introduction

For more than 50 years, the Government has been taking measures to uplift the overall living standard of the tribal people. During these years it has experimented with different tribal development approaches and finally adhered to the Tribal Sub-Plan approach since the beginning of the Fifth Five Year Plan. As an integrated component of the Tribal Sub-Plan approach, Micro Projects have been set up for undertaking measures especially for the development of the Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) in various States. Each Micro Project functions with hundred per cent funding received from the Central Government under the Special Centre Assistance grants. A group of administrative as well as field staffs headed by a Special Officer implement the development measures as reflected and approved in the Annual Action Plans. The measures are undertaken following the guidelines provided by the Government from time to time.

The elaborate arrangements for the development of PTGs have contributed to some extent in the creation of infrastructure and improvement of socio-economic condition and living standard of the tribes. But the progress made has been far from the expectations. This demands for a critical study on different aspects, such as fund utilization, monitoring and supervision, capacity development and overall administration, of the development programmes implemented by the Micro Projects for the PTGs. Keeping this in view, an evaluative study on the functioning of the Lanjia Saura Development Agency (LSDA), Puttasingi, a Micro Project in Orissa, was conducted during 1999-2000. Based on the findings of the study, a critical analysis has been made in this paper on the loopholes in the pattern of funding from different agencies and the lacunae in the modes of expenditure of these funds for undertaking various developmental activities. The paper has limited itself to an analysis of 16 years of receipt and expenditure of funds, i.e. from 1983-84 to 1998-99. Besides, for the purpose of analysis of receipt and expenditure of funds, the data have been classified into three phases: Phase I (1983-84 to 1989-90), Phase II (1990-91 to 1993-94) and phase III (1994-95 to 1998-99). Some suggestions have also been made to plug the financial loopholes and thereby helping in better utilization of funds for tribal development.

Brief Profile of LSDA

The Micro Project, LSDA was established at Puttasingi in 1984 by the State Government. Since inception, its development activities have been limited only to the Sagada Gram Panchayat that covers 21 villages inhabited by the Lanjia Saura, one of the 3 PTGs of Orissa. Within these villages, 726 Lanjia Saura households are settled comprising a population of 4172 (Acharya and Mishra 2000). Geographically the project area covers 39 sq km and lies roughly between 9° and 19° N North latitudes and between 83° 55' and 84° East longitudes. The Project

area is at 1400 ft above the sea level and is covered with rugged hills and hill slopes interspersed by small villages. The Micro Project has its own Society whose main objectives are (1) to accelerate the economic development of the Lanja Sauras in the project area, (2) to execute schemes for the benefit of the Lanja Sauras either directly or in coordination with such agencies as the Block Office, Agro-Industries Corporation, Co-operative Bank, Commercial Bank, Departments of the State and Central governments that are engaged in this direction in the field and (3) to review the progress and effectiveness of the programmes relating to development of the Lanja Sauras.

The Micro Project has a Governing Body consisting of 9 members at the apex of its organizational structure. The governing Body reviews, decides and approves the development activities, expenditure and action plan of the Micro Project for each financial year. Apart from the Governing Body, the Micro Project has a Special Officer who is its financial as well as administrative authority. He receives the funds released to the Micro Project and is accountable for its proper utilization and expenditure. He looks after the day-to-day affairs of Micro Project and the ministerial staffs of Micro Project cooperate with him in accounting and administrative matters. The Special Officer is also responsible for the effective implementation of development programmes. He is answerable for the managerial lacunae found during implementation of the programmes. For proper execution and management of the development programmes, a team of technical as well as field staff assists him.

Pattern of Funding

Since 1983-84 a specific amount of fund has been received every year by the LSDA for undertaking development programmes for the Lanja Sauras inhabiting within the Micro Project area. Table 1 shows that the grants are available from three sources, i.e. (i) Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste Development Department, Orissa (Simabaramwar) (ii) Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Cuttack and (iii) District Rural Development Agency, Rayagada (which is from Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Caste Development Department) are available from 1983-84 to 1988-89. The annual grants of the Integrated Tribal Development Agency are available from 1983-84 to 1985-86 and similarly from the District Rural Development Agency, money has been released from 1984-85 to 1988-89. It has been observed that the funding agencies have provided funds at different phases of time. In phase I the Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste Development Department has started providing the funds. In phase I the Integrated Tribal Development Agency has begun its funding whereas the funding of the District Rural Development Agency has been initiated in phase III.

As far as the actual payment of grants is concerned, Table 1 further shows that there has never been a regular rise in the payment of annual grants to the LSDA. In phase I the payment for the year 1983-84 is Rs 1.58 lakh which has increased to Rs 1.54 lakh in 1984-85 and further to Rs 5.08 lakh in 1985-86. In 1986-87 the payment is Rs 2.30 lakh which indicates a reduction in the receipt of the grant. In 1987-88, the payment is being raised to Rs 25.13 lakh that is nearly



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into a single as part of the system and after the system was completely functioning. A detailed description of the system is given in terms of its structure and its functions and hardware in section 4. After the UCL is implemented, selection, input supply, monitoring and supervision.

Pattern of Expenditure

The pattern of expenditure is shown in Figure 1. The total expenditure is divided into three main categories: (i) the cost of the hardware, (ii) the cost of the software, and (iii) the cost of the personnel. The cost of the hardware is the largest, followed by the cost of the software, and the cost of the personnel is the smallest. The cost of the hardware is divided into three main categories: (i) the cost of the computer, (ii) the cost of the peripheral equipment, and (iii) the cost of the communication equipment. The cost of the software is divided into three main categories: (i) the cost of the system software, (ii) the cost of the application software, and (iii) the cost of the documentation. The cost of the personnel is divided into three main categories: (i) the cost of the system administrator, (ii) the cost of the application programmer, and (iii) the cost of the operator. The cost of the hardware is the largest, followed by the cost of the software, and the cost of the personnel is the smallest. The cost of the hardware is divided into three main categories: (i) the cost of the computer, (ii) the cost of the peripheral equipment, and (iii) the cost of the communication equipment. The cost of the software is divided into three main categories: (i) the cost of the system software, (ii) the cost of the application software, and (iii) the cost of the documentation. The cost of the personnel is divided into three main categories: (i) the cost of the system administrator, (ii) the cost of the application programmer, and (iii) the cost of the operator.

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are concerned, it is seen from Table 4 that during the whole period under the study the average annual expenditure on administrative charges is Rs 2.77 lakh. Out of this, 96.48 per cent is being earmarked towards establishment expenditures like salary, allowances and contingencies expenses of the officer towards electrification of the office and staff quarters — per cent is being spent similarly — 44 per cent of the average annual expenditure on administrative charges has been spent towards leave salary and pension contribution of the staff, 45 per cent towards fencing the Micro Project office with barbed wire — per cent towards wages of typist and watchman posted in the office and 0.45 per cent for purchasing spare parts and furniture for the motor cycle. The expenditure on wages of the contractual typist and watchman has been made only in the years 1997-98 and 1998-99. Since there has never been a person serving as Junior Clerk cum typist in regular basis, the expenditure on contractual appointment of another person does not appear in the year May 1997 expenditure on fuel for vehicle has been made from 1993-94 to 1998-99, which is in the use of the office vehicle during the period. In this regard, the posting of one driver in the Micro Project appears logical and the expenditure towards his salary seems to be wastage. The apart whether the use of the office vehicle, the monitoring and supervision work of the ISEA has been going on.

The funds earmarked for expenditure on other development programmes have been spent on various items such as construction and maintenance of office building and staff quarters, education programme, health programme, development work like construction of roads, co-operative, publicity and exhibition, drinking water for livestock, electrification, and making of Langsa Nawa mode house. From Table 5, it is revealed that from 1983-84 to 1998-99, the average annual amount of expenditure made out of the grants received from the Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled caste Development Department on other development programmes is Rs 5.50 lakh. Out of this, the percentage share of expenditure on education programme is 10.7 per cent, income generating development work is 5.44 per cent. The percentage shares of expenditure on health programmes, publicity and exhibition and drinking water supply are limited to 0.57, 0.45 and 0.26 respectively. Similarly, the percentage share of expenditure on electrification is 0.25 per cent, 0.25 per cent. It is further evident from Table 5 that during the period 1983-84 to 1998-99, the ISEA has received some amount of grants from the District Rural Development Agency at the rate of Rs 10.50 lakh per year. The entire amount so received has been utilised only for development work, i.e. road construction. The funds received from the ISEA have not been utilised by the ISEA for implementing other development programmes. It appears that the ISEA has the Micro Project has given more importance in educating the Langsa Nawa people and improving the communication facilities in the project area and thereby, less importance to health, drinking water supply, publicity, exhibition and electrification.

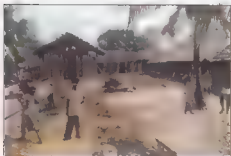
One of the funds received from the Scheduled tribe and Scheduled caste Development Department the integrated Tribal Development Agency and the District Rural Development Agency, certain amount has been spent for implementing some of the income generating schemes for the Langsa Nawa living in the project area. The data presented in Table 6 shows that when the whole period

from 1985 to 1990 Rs 95 is taken into account out of the funds received from the Scheduled Caste Development Department a sum of Rs 2.94 lakhs is being spent at an average annual amount of Rs 1 per acre to wage an anti-pestening scheme in the districts. horticulture and pisciculture is put on a high priority and number of fish-ponds have been opened up. In the past, the fish-ponds were of the old type, which in this scheme, mainly of the modern type, having pumps, aerobators, concrete lining. As a part of the anti-pestening scheme, a part of the Rs 2.94 lakhs is being spent at an average annual amount of Rs 1 per acre to wage an anti-pestening scheme in the districts. horticulture and pisciculture is put on a high priority and number of fish-ponds have been opened up. In the past, the fish-ponds were of the old type, which in this scheme, mainly of the modern type, having pumps, aerobators, concrete lining. As a part of the anti-pestening scheme, a part of the Rs 2.94 lakhs is being spent at an average annual amount of Rs 1 per acre to wage an anti-pestening scheme in the districts. horticulture and pisciculture is put on a high priority and number of fish-ponds have been opened up. In the past, the fish-ponds were of the old type, which in this scheme, mainly of the modern type, having pumps, aerobators, concrete lining.

These were some of the measures taken under the anti-pestening programme. According to the general impression, the expenditure of Rs 1 per acre is not enough to wage an anti-pestening scheme in the districts. horticulture and pisciculture is put on a high priority and number of fish-ponds have been opened up. In the past, the fish-ponds were of the old type, which in this scheme, mainly of the modern type, having pumps, aerobators, concrete lining. As a part of the anti-pestening scheme, a part of the Rs 2.94 lakhs is being spent at an average annual amount of Rs 1 per acre to wage an anti-pestening scheme in the districts. horticulture and pisciculture is put on a high priority and number of fish-ponds have been opened up. In the past, the fish-ponds were of the old type, which in this scheme, mainly of the modern type, having pumps, aerobators, concrete lining. As a part of the anti-pestening scheme, a part of the Rs 2.94 lakhs is being spent at an average annual amount of Rs 1 per acre to wage an anti-pestening scheme in the districts. horticulture and pisciculture is put on a high priority and number of fish-ponds have been opened up. In the past, the fish-ponds were of the old type, which in this scheme, mainly of the modern type, having pumps, aerobators, concrete lining.

As the government in India is not able to provide the funds at the rate required, the Government of Karnataka has decided to start a programme of anti-pestening in the districts. horticulture and pisciculture is put on a high priority and number of fish-ponds have been opened up. In the past, the fish-ponds were of the old type, which in this scheme, mainly of the modern type, having pumps, aerobators, concrete lining. As a part of the anti-pestening scheme, a part of the Rs 2.94 lakhs is being spent at an average annual amount of Rs 1 per acre to wage an anti-pestening scheme in the districts. horticulture and pisciculture is put on a high priority and number of fish-ponds have been opened up. In the past, the fish-ponds were of the old type, which in this scheme, mainly of the modern type, having pumps, aerobators, concrete lining.

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Sacré Village



Nursery in LSDA, Serango

Major Lacunae:

The above discussion has revealed the following major lacunae in the pattern of funding and expenditure:

- 1 Repeated rise and fall in release of annual grants by the funding agencies
- 2 Lack of coordination among the funding agencies regarding the amount of grants released to the LSDA under different heads of expenditure
- 3 Amount of funds shown spent is more than the amount of funds received by LSDA
- 4 Delay in the release of funds to the LSDA.
- 5 Negligence in earmarking of funds towards supervision and monitoring expenses
- 6 Extremely low earmarking of funds towards expenditure on developmental activities relating to health, nutrition, sanitation, publicity, rural electrification and safe drinking water supply
- 7 Expenditure not incurred towards implementation of alternative avenues of supplementary income
- 8 Funds not earmarked towards expenditure on spread of vegetable cultivation and establishment of processing units relating to minor forest and surplus agricultural produce and the products of horticulture schemes
- 9 Funds not earmarked for expanding the avenues of marketing the tribal products both before and after processing. The aforesaid lacunae act against the overall functioning of the LSDA and result in (a) inability to sustain the development activities, (b) unwarranted excessive expenditure on a few sectors of development neglecting the other sectors and (c) lack of integrating the development activities resulting into adoption of a piecemeal, rather than a holistic approach.

Policy Recommendations:

In order to bring in an all round development of the Lajja Sauris, it is recommended that:

- 1 The funding agencies should not be inconsistent in releasing funds to the LSDA. There should never be a fall in the release of funds. The funds to be released for a financial year should be 5 to 10 per cent more than the funds released for the previous financial year.
- 2 Before release of funds, the funding agencies should sit together and take a combined decision regarding the release of funds under different heads of expenditure. Care should be taken to see that out of the total funding, the ratio of percentage shares of funds to be released towards income generation schemes, other development programme and administrative charges should be fixed in advance. Based on field experience, it is felt that the said ratio should be 45:35:20 for income generation schemes, other development programme and administrative charges respectively.
- 3 The LSDA should restrict its expenditure to the extent of funds received every year for its functioning. The Governing Body of the LSDA and the

funding agencies should ensure that the LSDA does not spend beyond the amount of funds received by it.

- 4 Continuous supervision and monitoring of development activities are vital to the success of LSDA. The LSDA should therefore mention in the Annual Action Plan the details of its supervision and monitoring activities for approval of the Governing Body. It should also earmark specific amount of funds towards supervision and monitoring expenses.
- 5 The funds to be released towards horticulture scheme may be reduced to limit it to the maintenance of backyard plantation and fruit bearing plants. A separate amount of funds should be kept for establishing units for processing the minor forest and surplus agricultural produce and products of horticulture scheme.
- 6 Funds should be released to enhance the communication and transport network and to expand the marketing avenues of tribal products.
- 7 Part of the funds received for agricultural schemes may be earmarked for the spread of vegetable cultivation especially where irrigation facility is available.
- 8 Funds should be released to tap the natural sources of water including rainwater for expansion of irrigation facilities.
- 9 A separate amount of funds should be released for undertaking development activities relating to health, nutrition, sanitation, housing, rural electrification, publicity and safe drinking water supply.
- 10 Funds should also be released for implementing the alternative avenues of supplementary income that may be locally feasible and cost effective.
- 11 There should be regular flow of funds to the Micro Projects from different sources. It is possible to ensure this by releasing funds on quarterly basis without waiting till the fig end of each financial year, which will also conform to the government policy of incurring development expenditure uniformly over the year barring seasonal exceptions.

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Table-1

Year and Phase-wise Grants Received by the Micro Project from various sources

| Year/Phase | Source and amount (in Rs.) of Annual grants received | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|-----------------------|
| | Scheduled Tribe & Scheduled caste Development Department | Integrated Tribal Development Agency | District Rural Development Agency | Total |
| 1983-84 | 1,38,000 (100.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 1,38,000 (100.00) |
| 1984-85 | 1,50,000 (100.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 1,50,000 (100.00) |
| 1985-86 | 5,00,000 (100.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 5,00,000 (100.00) |
| 1986-87 | 2,80,000 (100.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 2,80,000 (100.00) |
| 1987-88 | 25,13,000 (100.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 25,13,000 (100.00) |
| 1988-89 | 8,20,000 (100.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 8,20,000 (100.00) |
| 1989-90 | 4,50,000 (100.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 4,50,000 (100.00) |
| Average Annual grants (Phase-1) | 6,93,000 (100.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 6,93,000 (100.00) |
| 1990-91 | 12,00,000 (88.130) | 1,61,700 (11.87) | 0 (0.00) | 13,61,700 (100.00) |
| 1991-92 | 10,90,000 (76.28) | 1,39,000 (23.72) | 0 (0.00) | 14,29,000 (100.00) |
| 1992-93 | 8,64,000 (75.25) | 2,84,108 (24.75) | 0 (0.00) | 11,48,108 (100.00) |
| 1993-94 | 8,95,000 (90.32) | 95,931 (9.63) | 0 (0.00) | 9,90,931 (100.00) |
| Average Annual grants (Phase-2) | 10,12,250 (82.13) | 2,20,185 (17.87) | 0 (0.00) | 12,32,435 (100.00) |
| 1994-95 | 14,50,000 (48.74) | 3,82,625 (12.86) | 11,42,600 (38.40) | 29,75,225 (100.00) |
| 1995-96 | 13,96,000 (50.68) | 6,77,250 (24.58) | 6,81,552 (24.74) | 27,54,802 (100.00) |
| 1996-97 | 9,56,000 (35.99) | 8,06,340 (30.16) | 8,94,000 (33.65) | 26,56,340 (100.00) |
| 1997-98 | 9,58,000 (56.52) | 3,44,500 (12.12) | 4,00,000 (23.36) | 17,12,500 (100.00) |
| 1998-99 | 9,63,000 (47.45) | 0 (0.00) | 10,66,440 (52.55) | 20,29,440 (100.00) |

| | | | | |
|--|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Average annual Grants (Phase-3) | 11,46,600 (47.27) | 4,42,148 (18.23) | 8,36,918 (34.50) | 24,25,661 (100.00) |
| Total Period (1983-84 to 1988-89) | 1,40,33,000 (66.79) | 30,91,454 (14.11) | 41,84,592 (19.10) | 2,19,09,046 (100.00) |
| Average Annual Grants (Total period) | 9,84,963 (66.79) | 3,09,145 (14.11) | 5,26,937 (19.09) | 13,69,315 (100.00) |

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage

Source: Official records of Laxya Sakti Development Agency, Pattanang.

Table-2

Funds Received and funds Projected in Annual Action Plans of the Micro project

| Year | Funds projected in Annual Action Plan (in Rs.) | Funds received from ST & SC DB (in Rs.) | Excess(+) or less(-) received (in Rs.) | % of less / more payment |
|--------------------|--|---|--|--------------------------|
| 1983-84 to 1990-91 | DNA* | - | - | - |
| 991-92 | 20,37,745 | 10,90,000 | (-),9,47,745 | 46.5 |
| 992-93 to 994-95 | DNA* | - | - | - |
| 995-96 | 24,10,800 | 13,96,000 | (-),10,14,800 | 42.1 |
| 1996-97 | 15,15,800 | 9,86,000 | (-),5,79,800 | 37.8 |
| 997-98 | 14,62,560 | 9,68,000 | (-),4,94,560 | 11.8 |
| 1998-99 | 15,00,000 | 9,63,000 | (-),5,37,000 | 15.8 |

NDAR: Data not available

Notes: Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage

Source: Office records of LSDIA, Patna (J)

Table-3

Phase wise Average Amount of Funds Utilized on Major heads of Expenditure

| Phase | Amount Received (in Rs.) | Amount available for expenditure (in Rs.) | Amount spent on major heads of expenditure (in Rs.) | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|---|---|------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | | Income Generation Scheme | Other development Programmes | Administrative charges | Total |
| Phase-1 1983-84 to 89-90 | 6,93,000 | 6,93,000 | 92,591 (13.36) | 4,02,654 (58.10) | 1,97,755 (28.54) | 6,93,000 (100.00) |
| Phase-2 1990-9 to 93-94 | 12,32,434 | 12,38,954 | 6,50,095 (48.95) | 4,09,273 (33.02) | 2,68,630 (20.23) | 13,28,007 (100.00) |
| Phase-3 1994-95 to 98-99 | 24,25,661 | 20,12,534 | 13,95,280 (57.08) | 6,55,166 (26.80) | 3,94,070 (16.12) | 24,44,516 (100.00) |
| Total period 1983-84 to 98-99 | 3,69,315 | 12,41,843 | 6,39,05 (45.67) | 4,83,218 (34.54) | 2,76,825 (19.79) | 13,99,100 (100.00) |

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage

Source: Official records of Langsa Sarea Development Agency, Patna (J)

Table 4

**Phase wise Average Annual expenditure on Administrative Charges
During 1983-84 to 1998-99**

| Phase | Amount of average annual expenditures (in Rs.) on administrative charges | | | | | | Total |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| | Establishment charges (pay, allowances, etc) | Electrification to office and staff quarters | Leave salary and pension contribution | Feeding of office | Wages of typist and watchman | Motor cycle spare parts and petrol | |
| Phase-1 1983-84 to 1989-90 | 90,243 (96.25) | 90 (0.96) | 2,758 (1.40) | 2,873 (1.44) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 1,97,755 (100.00) |
| Phase-2 1990-91 to 1993-94 | 2,64,536 (98.47) | 4,114 (1.43) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 2,68,649 (100.00) |
| Phase-3 1994-95 to 1998-99 | 3,76,889 (95.35) | 3,912 (0.99) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 9,516 (2.41) | 3,994 (1.03) | 3,94,071 (100.00) |
| Total period 1983-84 to 1998-99 | 2,67,078 (96.48) | 5,083 (1.1) | 1,106 (0.44) | 248 (0.45) | 2,974 (1.07) | 3,15 (0.45) | 2,75,824 (100.00) |

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage

Source: Official records of Laxja Soons Development Agency, Putnang

Table-5

**Funding Agency wise Annual Expenditure on Other Development
Programmes during 1983-84 to 1998-99**

| Funding Agency | Average annual expenditures (in Rs.) on other development programmes | | | | | | | | | Total |
|----------------|--|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| | Building programme | Education Programme | Health programme | Development work | Co-operation | Publicity exhibition | Drinking water | Electrification | Laxja Soons model houses | |
| ST & SC DD | 12,214 (3.31) | 1,23,857 (32.32) | 3,983 (1.03) | 2,22,347 (58.48) | 47 (0.01) | 7,395 (1.97) | 6,329 (1.67) | 4,954 (1.30) | 66 (0.00) | 3,60,873 (100.00) |
| BRDA, Rayagada | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 10,140 (100.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 1,01,140 (100.00) |
| ITDA, Orissa | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) |

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage

Source: Official records of Laxja Soons Development Agency, Putnang

Table-6
Funding Agency wise Average annual Expenditure on Income generation
Schemes during 1983-84 to 1998-99

| Funding Agency | Amount of annual expenditure (in Rs.) on income generation schemes | | | | | | Total |
|----------------|--|---------------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|----------------------|
| | Agriculture | Horticulture | Soil Conservation | Irrigation | Plough Balloek | Nursery | |
| ST & SC DD | 27,831 (7.52) | 2,13,334 (74.21) | 34,027 (11.84) | 898 (0.31) | 449 (0.16) | 17,124 (3.96) | 2,93,714 (100) |
| DRDA, Rayagada | 0 (0.00) | 1,58,378 (100) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 1,58,378 (100.00) |
| ITDA, Gaspur | 49,051 (25.39) | 1,44,165 (74.61) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 0 (0.00) | 1,93,216 (100.00) |

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate the percentage

Source: Official records of Lakpa Stone Development Agency, Puttapur

Kandha Tribe of Orissa : An Ecological Perspective

Malaya K. Mura

1. Introduction

Geographers consider the Kandhamal hills in the Phulbani (renamed as Kandhamal) district of Orissa as forming the northern extremity of the eastern Ghats. However, other consider the Simlipal massif lying to the north west of the Kandhamal hills, generally include within the Garhjat (Gadajati) group (Bhalla is the northern limit of the Eastern Ghats (Legros and Meher Homi : 1964).

Several tribal communities are inhabiting the Eastern Ghats. Orissa Kandha tribe is one of them. Kandha is spelled differently such as Kandh, Konth, Kond and so on by different people. About seven main tribes (sub-tribe) of 6-7 ethnic groups settle in the forest areas of Orissa. Out of the total population is 31.55 m, tribe population is 7.03% in the State. Kandhas are the second largest tribe in India and they constitute about 8% of the total population of Orissa (Prabhu, 2000). Kandhas generally inhabit in Phulbani, Kandhamali, Rayagada, Kalahandi, Ganjam and Jajpur districts of Orissa. There are many sub-tribes of Kandha such as Dongria, Mahu, Borwa, Dima, Pengo, Naxa, Bano, etc., and there is also (Bhal) 1992. The Kandha tribe can broadly be divided into three broad groups: Adiv, Dongria and Dima Kandha (Bhalerao, 1995). Originally a tribal, Kandhas were inhabiting in the hilly forest areas. Due to deforestation, urbanization and social changes some Kandhas came closer to urban centres and occupy the plains. Others still remain in their traditional land in hilly forests.

The Kandhamal (Phulbani) district is predominated by the Kandha tribe. The district is renamed after the tribe (Kandha hill tribe). Many villages in the track. Dima Kandhas are very common in this district. The Kandhas of Phulbani district are famous for their historic human sacrifice in the farmers' farms.

The Dongria Kandhas are a major sector of the Kandha tribe. They are mostly confined in a contiguous area of the Niyamgar hill range. It covers some portions of its own-tract, Mumpada and Kalvasungpur blocks of Rayagada district and Bawanathpur area of Lathagari of Kalahandi district of Orissa. Their total population is about ten thousand, out of which about 6500 are found in Rayagada district (Bhalerao, 1992). They are comparatively more primitive nature and of unknown races. Males grow long hairs like ladies, comb it and use brass powder on their nose and ear. In most of the families, the wife is older than her husband. The Dongria Kandha women are more active than the male.

Kuta Kandha, a primitive tribe predominantly found in Belagari, Guma, Lankagari, Borpati Gram Panchayats of Tumudibandhi block and in Suhmagiri area of Kotagari block of Phulbani district.

Little work has been done on the ecology of the Kandha tribe of Orissa. Therefore, in this review paper an attempt has been made to collect all the information available on the Kandha tribe, which are fragmentary in nature, with a view to have base data for further research on the tribe for their socio-economic development.

2. Socio-culture

The Kandhas are medium stature people with brown to dark brown skin colour. They possess a broad head with a wide nose. Lame in body are scarce. They speak Khasi language which has a Dialectal origin. Generally the Kandhas settle in few numbers at a place. The low population in the hamlets is also characteristic feature of tribal communities residing inside the forest who mostly depend upon the forest resources for their livelihood (Das & Misra 2001). Population distribution of Kandhas shows that maximum population is in the age group of 15-40. The decrease in population beyond 40 is because of death. Due to scarcity of food the Kandhas suffer from malnutrition and starvation, and ageing process starts at an early age.

The average literacy rate is very low. Some case studies revealed that it varies from 8-14% (Das, 1997), while it is 43% and 26% for male and female Kandhas respectively (Prabhu 2000).

Kandhas generally live in two roomed thatched house. No particular pattern is followed while constructing the huts and the houses are mostly scattered. Houses are open to the front and some to backside too. A narrow verandah is left on the front side of each house. Huts are thatched with paddy straw, thatch grass, sago palm leaves along with bamboo sticks.

There is no age bar for marriage. Girls are generally declared fit for marriage after attainment of puberty. Marriage among Kandhas takes place between both closely and distantly related clans. Newly married couples are allowed to stay in a separate house known as "*Dhangadi Ghar*". Family planning is insignificant among Kandhas and the interior Kandhas use traditional drugs for family planning and abortion. However modern methods are also followed by the frontier (civilized) Kandhas. On an average monthly income of the Kandha tribes is Rs. 780 and Rs. 5-2 for frontier and interior Kandha tribes respectively (Prabhu 2000).

The Kandha woman is hard working and equally participates along with her husband at the economic front of the family. She is responsible for doing household work such as cooking, cleaning and plastering of the house and fetching water. Besides, she goes to forest every day to collect forest products including firewood. Modernized Kandha girls, although go to school, their percentage become low at high school level. They undergo taxation at the age of 9 or 10 years (Haral & Bishu, 1994).

3. Religio-cultural Beliefs

Kandha believes in natural power and worship God and Goddess on different occasions during the year. The religio-cultural beliefs are also attached to agriculture and health of the Kandha community. It is a part of their culture. Few of the festivals performed by the tribe are described below.

In January Kandha villagers collectively observe *Tuli Muro* festival and the *Dusari* worships the Earth Goddess (*Dikaru Penu*) by sacrificing a sheep (*Godrat*). *Ghusara Puja* (seed worship) is also observed collectively in February. In this festival *Jam* worships *Dikaru Penu* by sacrificing a pig (Mohanty, 1991). The *Chaula Parba* festival is observed with pomp and ceremony in March. Sacrifice of animals such as sheep, goat and poultry and offering of liquor to village deities are the common practice which is done by the priest (*Pujari*) for good health, better crop and healthy environment (Das and Mura, 2001). In April *Ani Nua* and *Kundul Bhaya Parab* are observed individually and collectively. The *Jam* worships the village deity by sacrificing a fowl. During the monsoon, before the seeds are broadcast in the podu field *Boli Parab* is observed for a good harvest. *Dusari* performs the *puya* before the village Goddess. Similarly *Nal Penu* is worshipped in hills by *Jam*, before the sowing operation by individual families. Before the first eating of finger millet (*ragi*) and paddy (*Mandua rani* and *Dhano Nua Parab*) village Goddess is worshipped by *Jam* by sacrificing a fowl (Mohanty, 1991).

4. Occupation

Most of the Kandhas live in hilly tracks with forest cover. The Kandhas are economically backward and most of them are below the poverty line. They are mostly illiterate, conservative in nature and landless. They depend upon wage labour or on the non timber forest products (NTFPs) for their sustenance. Besides, agriculture is another important occupation of the Kandhas. Generally from morning to evening all members of the family go out to the field to work or to the jungle for the collection of NTFPs. Young unmarried boys and girls engage themselves in singing and folk dancing. Kandha women are hard working and more responsible than their male counterparts. Kandha does not have any specific occupation. Most of them depend upon daily wage or cultivation coupled with daily wage. In forest areas collection of NTFPs in all seasons is a common practice.

5. Agriculture

The Kandhas of Orissa practice the traditional agriculture and maintaining the traditional agro-ecosystems (defined as ecological systems modified by human beings to produce food, fibre or other agricultural products) (Corway, 1987) for their sustenance. The cropping pattern adopted by the Kandhas can broadly be grouped under three categories: valley (settled), podu (shifting) and home garden.

Mohanty (1991) while studying a Kusa Kandha village ecosystem (Kotabhera) in Kalahandi district of Orissa observed that the Kandha practice cultivation in four types of land, viz. *Beda*, *Bhaua*, *Bada* and *Dangar*. *Beda* is valley plain land where rice is cultivated. *Bhaua* lands are the up lands where herbs and shrubs are generally growing which are cleared and then cultivated continuously for 1 to 4 years then the land is abandoned for regeneration. They grow paddy in first year, riger or kosa in 2nd year and kosa or finger millet in 3rd year. In *Beda*, home-garden crops are grown and in *Dangar* shifting

cultivation is practiced. The crops grown under podu are Bajra, Finger millet, Kusal, Kating, Gihanda, Kangu, Biru, Baragudi, Jhudunga, Kandula and other crops.

5.1 Valley cultivation

Settled agriculture is mostly done in the valleys lying near the village. Cruplands are divided into a number of small plots. A variety of crops are cultivated in the valley land such as paddy (low land and up land), finger millet and maize. The legumes (pulses) and oil seeds cultivated by the Kandhas are horse gram, black gram, green gram, red gram, peas, beans, mung, black mustard, groundnut, castor and other crops. Table depicts some of the crops cultivated by the Kandhas and their sowing and harvest season. The annual rice yield in a Kandha village is 2062.5 kg/ha (29.8 t/ha) for low land and 831 kg/ha (29.2 t/ha) for up land (Dash and Misra, 2001). Wide variations occur in yield pattern in the Kandha village agro-ecosystems because of the absence of any management practice in the agriculture sector. Further, the agro-ecosystems totally depend on nature.

5.2 Podu

Podu (shifting cultivation or *jhum*) is the traditional agriculture practiced by the Kandhas of the Eastern Ghats in India from time immemorial. It is also called slash and burn Agriculture. Podu cultivation is carried out on forestlands of about 30–40° angle/slope. During February–April trees including undergrowths are completely washed from an area, but short tree stumps and large tree boles are left intact. After the slash become dry, burning operation is carried out. These processes are either carried out by individual family or jointly by the villagers. Sowing is generally done after the first few showers. The important crops cultivated under podu are common millet, barnyard millet, pearl millet, red gram, castor, maize and other crops.

But in due course of time in many areas because of repeated podu cultivation most of the forests have almost disappeared and desertification takes place. In many areas burning operation of podu is eliminated or restricted to the burning of annual weeds. As a result, the soil fertility has been lost rapidly. Moreover, there is no source of fertilizer into the soil. Because of these factors the fallow ecosystems become unproductive and uneconomical. In podu cultivation, major part of the energy input in the form of manual labour which is provided by the tribal people goes to slash and burn operation. For example, in Kaspakhola Kandha village the human power (energy) input in podu for red gram was 273.5 MJ/ha (481 h/ha), for common millet 424 MJ/ha (730 h/ha), and for barnyard millet 1089.5 MJ/ha (217 h/ha) (Dash and Misra, 2001). With increased population pressure and decreased open area for podu cultivation, the land nearer to the villages where secondary succession is arrested are cultivated repeatedly. However, red gram as a podu crop helps fixing atmospheric nitrogen in this type of situation or seed plantation of tree crop could be an alternative for podu. Agro-forestry can help improve the environment.

5.3 Home-garden

The home garden in Kandha villages play an important role in enhancing the economic status of the Kandhas. This helps the Kandha to meet a variety of requirements round the year for his sustenance. Under home-garden they cultivate a variety of crops, but vegetable crop dominate the system. Seasonal vegetables and spice crops are grown in backyards. In the valley and up land fields these are grown as secondary crops. The important vegetable crops are brinjal, tomato, bean, pea, radish, arum, pumpkin, sweet potato and so on. The spice crops are turmeric, ginger and chili. Besides, in the wet season other vegetables are also cultivated in the backyard (Table 2). Of all traditional agro-forestry systems, home-garden plays an significant role in meeting a variety of needs of the traditional societies in the tropics (Ramakrishnan, 1993; Dash & Misra, 2001).

Dongri Kandha of Rayagada district are lovers of fruit trees and orchards. They grow jackfruit, banana, mango, citrus and turmeric since time immemorial. Since the inception of the Dongri Kandha Development Agency at Kurli, Chotkara of Rayagada district the Kandhas are motivated to take up horticulture and it was successful. The total area under horticulture crops was 9091.6 acres in that area. Table 3 depicts the details of crop plantation and their coverage (Sahoo, 1992).

The agriculture practiced by the Kandhas are still traditional, and they maintain a variety of pure indigenous crops (germplasm) since time immemorial, which reflects socio-culture of the tribe. The technological development has little impact on agriculture. The market demand/economic consideration has not influenced the tribe on the choice of the crop.

The present cropping system of the Tribe can be transferred into a sustainable land use system (Rilaschke et al. 1992) by adopting mixed cropping and agro-forestry keeping in view the socio-economic and ethno-specific peculiarity (Caesar, 1990) of the target area.

6. Animal husbandry

The Kandhas domesticate the animals in a traditional way and the animal husbandry among the Kandhas of Orissa is not well developed. However, in addition to agriculture domestication of animals is one of the main subsidiary occupations of the Kandhas. The animals reared by them are cow, buffalo, bullock, goat, sheep, pig (swain) and poultry.

In Kousabera Kutia Kandha village of Kalahandi district the people extract milk from the cows and milk is consumed and being sold for cash (Mohanty 1991). However, the Kandhas of Kandhamal district never extract milk from the cows but buffaloes are domesticated for milk production (Dash, 1997). The cattle reared by the Kandhas are of indigenous varieties and milk production efficiency is very low.

Goat and fowl are used as sacrificial animals. The Kandhas of Kandhamal district even sacrifice the buffaloes in their festivals. Flesh of all domesticated

animals and poultry are consumed by the Kandhas. Besides, flesh of wild bores and wild birds are also consumed by them (Mann, 1986).

Bullocks and he-buffaloes are generally used as draught animals by the Kandhas, but in Kandhamal district cows are also used as draught power (Dash, 1997).

7. Non-Timber Forest Products

Kandhas collect a variety of non timber forest products (NTFP) from the forests within their reach for their own consumption and for export. They use it for different purposes such as food, preparation of domestic materials, medicine, beverage and so on. Table 4 enlists some of the NTFPs those are generally collected by the Kandhas of Orissa. The quantity of collection of NTFP varies from place to place as it depends upon several factors such as availability of the NTFPs, interest of the people for collection, market for export domestic requirement, and so on. Among the NTFPs, mohua flower and seed, ash leaf, sa leaf, tamarind pulp, thatch grass, thatch rope, hill broom, sapta, medicinal herbs, minor timbers, wild vegetables and fruits, leafy vegetables, mushrooms are some of the important products. Kandhas protect mohua plant (*Barringtonia*) for its flowers. Sap, *Albizia* variety leaves are the most important NTFP from the economic point of view. Kandhas prepare plates (*dhala*) and cups (*dhama*) out of the sap leaves by stitching together. Leaves are generally collected by the women folk. Sal (*Shorea robusta*) leaves are collected for their own domestic consumption and sometimes they take it out side the village. Bamboo, thatch grass and thatch rope are collected to thatch the huts and sheds, and to fence the backyard. Quantity of collection of NTFPs mostly depend upon the requirement of these materials by the Kandhas. Medicinal herbs, myrebanans and gooseberry collection depends upon the requirement but in some areas these products are marketed and accordingly the collection is made. Consumption of NTFPs varies from village to village and it is more in interior villages than the villages near to towns or urban habitations.

8. Consumption pattern

8.1 Food

The staple food of the Kandhas are rice, common millet, barnyard millet, finger millet, suga, maize and other minor millets. This varies from season to season depending on their availability. In summer season mango and jack fruit are consumed by the Kandhas in large quantities as they are plentiful & available during the season. The general combination of diet is cereal, legume (pulses) and vegetables. Lentil curry (*dal*) is prepared out of leafy vegetables depending upon its availability. The variety and quantity of different items consumed by the Kandhas from day to day varies from time to time depending upon the availability and economic condition of the household.

Consumption of rice by the Kandhas varies from 46.7 kg per capita per day while finger millet consumption is 20-30 kg per capita per day in the three

villages of Kandhamal district (Dash 1997) Routroy and Pattnaik (1985) reported that the Kandhas consume 558 g rice per capita per day

The important legumes (pulses) consumed by the Kandhas are: horse gram, green gram, red gram, black gram, and cow pea. However, the quantity of legume they consume is very low.

The vegetables consumed by the Kandhas varies from place to place and season to season depending upon its natural availability and its cultivation. The important vegetables consumed by the Kandhas are potato, brinjal, red pumpkin and so on (Table 2).

Kandhas collect some wild fruits (Table 5) from the nearby jungles around the year for their consumption. Kandhas take leafy vegetables (green leaves) round the year but the maximum consumption is in the rainy season. The important leafy vegetables are listed in (Table- 5). On an average a Kandha consumes 71 g (fresh weight) leafy vegetable per day (Misra, 1996).

Fruits like banana, papaya, guava, orange and other fruits cultivated by the Kandhas are generally sold in the daily market or weekly market (fair days) and they seldom consume these fruits.

Besides all these food items, they consume the roots and tubers and mushrooms collected from the wild. During ceremonial days the Kandhas generally consume flesh of domesticated animals and birds, however, flesh of wild animals are consumed as and when available. They also take fresh water fish and dry marine fish (*mukhu*). At the time of scarcity Kandhas (Dongra and Kutia) of interior areas consume mango kernels as food.

The average per capita cereal consumption by the Kandhas is 664 g day⁻¹. However, the total food energy consumption by them is 10580 KJ day⁻¹ (Dash, 1997). The Dasa Kandhas of Kukudakhundi and Chikni blocks of Ganjam district, Orissa take food energy of about 7911 KJ and 7242 KJ cap⁻¹ day⁻¹ those who reside near the road and in the interior areas respectively (Sabat, 1996). The Kandhas of Phiringia Gram Panchayat of Phulbari district consume about 8687 KJ cap⁻¹ day⁻¹ of food energy. All these figures are less than the average requirement of 1700 KJ cap⁻¹ day⁻¹ as suggested by the Nutritional Expert Group of the Indian Council of Medical Research (cited in Gopalan et al., 1982).

Stain and salient plates (*khshi*) and cups (*dasa*) are used invariably while serving the food. The peculiarity observed by Dash & Misra (2001) is that the Kandhas never take food directly in bare hand, but they use a salicaal like a spoon while taking food. The reason is unknown, but may be for cleanliness.

8.2 Consumption of alcohol, black cigar and snuff

Tribal people including Kandhas are traditionally habituated with consumption of country liquor and it is linked with the socio-economic life of the Kandhas. Alcohol consumption is a regular habit among the tribes including

Kandhas of Orissa (Nayak et al. 1993) and is a chronic widespread vice of the male section of the tribal societies of India (1976). Kandhas older than eleven years generally consume liquor (*mauañ*) every day. Occasionally the Kandha children also consume diluted country liquor. In festive days consumption of alcohol is maximum in age group of 25-40 years in both sexes. Average daily per capita alcohol consumption varies from 220-257 ml (Dash, 1997). Women are not habituated but take alcohol in festive days.

Currency cure is generally prepared by the Kandhas with mahua flowers, molasses, gur, rice and finger millet. However the middle man (*manthi*) plays a great role in alcohol trade.

Sage palm sap (*sañpa*) extracted from the plant (*Carissa indica*) is naturally available in the forest is consumed by the Kandhas during the winter season when sap flows in the tree. Adult men and women, and children all consume *sañpa* whenever available and daily consumption varies depending upon the sap extraction. An empirical study of a Kandha village revealed that daily a Kandha consumed 3 litres during the season (Mishra & Dash, 2000). During sap production period the Kandhas take only *sañpa* continuously for weeks without taking any food and do the normal work.

Kandha men and women, particularly of working class of different age groups are habituated to smoking of *pitka* (black cigar), rolled tobacco leaves and snuffing (snuff, called "maske", the powdered tobacco leaves).

8.3 Fuel energy use pattern

The stem wood and branch wood collected from the forest meets the fuel energy demand for domestic activities such as cooking, heating, cremation of dead bodies, camp fire and festive fire of the Kandha families. Kerosene is used invariably by the Kandha families for lighting. Kerosene consumption varies from 3-23 ml per capita per day. On an average a Kandha spends about 5-6 hours per day for fire wood collection. Forest meets 93.96% of the domestic fuel need of Kandha household. Annually stem wood and branch wood consumption is 1.46 t per capita. However agricultural residue and dung cake, are also used in some of the Kandha villages where firewood has become scarce.

9. Health care

From ancient time Kandha tribal communities used the medicinal plants growing in adjacent areas to cure the diseases they suffer from. For this purpose they generally depend on the *Prani Chari* (Priests or Sage Head men and so on) who prescribe the indigenous drugs (*rajatima* medicines). They take the *rajatima* medicines with a strong spiritual belief, of which has its importance. The medicinal plants used by the Kandhas are described by few authors such as Gaur (1992), Dash & Mishra (1999), Mishra & Dash (2000), and Das & Mishra (1988). However areas use of allopathic drugs by the Kandhas is almost unknown. In some areas where modern medical facilities are available, only few of the Kandhas even the freely. However because of the low economic status they could not meet it.

expenditure towards medicine and other materials for health care. On the other hand in the interior areas where modern medical centers are available, neither the Physician or the technician or other technical personnel are not available. Besides, in some places even cotton and spirit are not available for first aid. In these circumstances the tribal people are some times compelled to take the help of the traditional medicines for their treatment. Table 6 describes some of the important medicinal plants used by the Kandhas to cure the ailments they suffer from.

10. Conclusion

Kandhas mostly inhabit in hilly forest areas. However, many of them are now residing in plain areas near the urban centers. No doubt social changes has taken place among them to some extent still the majority of them are maintaining the traditional culture. The social changes are not significant as literacy percentage has not increased significantly and most of the Kandha families are below poverty line. The traditional Kandha economy depends mostly on valley cultivation and collection of non-timber forest products. Kandha inhabiting areas are deforested rapidly and the Kandhas face a lot of trouble for their livelihood. Non availability of good agricultural land, reduction in forest cover, illiteracy and alcoholism among the Kandhas, and interference of plain land people in their life-supporting activities are some of the important factors which hinder the development process of the tribe.

As Kandha economy depends upon the village resource base, suitable methods must be developed and adopted at the grass root level to improve the socio-economic condition of the tribe.

The rain fed agriculture fields in the recent past were getting a large amount of nutrients as wash-out when the forests cover was thick, but it has reduced to a great extent because of deforestation. Moreover fertilizer is not applied to the agricultural farms. In the valley areas introduction of suitable high yielding early rice varieties with sustainable management practice would help improve the yield.

In the present situation podu (shifting) cultivation must be stopped and the Kandhas must be provided with alternate agro-systems like plantation of horticultural crops and nitrogen fixing fodder plants in the slopping areas which help improve soil fertility and reduce soil erosion. Home-garden system which is very important for the tribal economy must be properly improved. Animal husbandry which is totally neglected by the Kandha community should be handled carefully taking into account the genetic diversity which can help improve the nutritional condition of the Kandha tribe. Forest conservation and marketing facility for NTFPs should be enhanced. Cultivation of economically important grasses such as sabai grass, beem grass, thatch grass, and lemon grass in the area would be of much help to the Kandhas.

As a whole much research on all aspects on Kandha community and Kandha village ecosystem is necessary for the total development of the Kandha community of Orissa.

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Table 1

Cropping pattern, seasonal distribution and yield of different crops in three Kordh villages of Orissa (Source: Dash, 1997)

| Crops | English/Local Name | Sowing season | Harvesting season | Yield (kg ha ⁻¹) |
|---|--------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| Valley and shifting cultivation: | | | | |
| Cereals | | | | |
| Paddy (<i>Oryza sativa</i> L.) | | | | |
| Lowland | Dhans | June-July | Nov.-Dec. | 2062 |
| Upland | Dhans | May-June | Sept.-Oct. | 18.1 |
| Finger m. lot (<i>Eleusine coracana</i>) | Mandua, Ragi | July | Sept.-Oct. | 75 |
| Common millet (<i>Panicum sumatrense</i>) | Ganga, Kossia | June-July | Oct.-Nov. | 76 |
| Barnyard millet (<i>Echinochloa colonum</i> var. <i>frutescens</i>) | Swan | June-July | Oct.-Nov. | 2.7 |
| Fusca lot (<i>Italon m. lot</i>) | Kh. 22 | | | |
| (<i>Setaria italica</i>) | Kangu, Tangu | June-July | Nov.-Dec. | - |
| Pearl Millet (<i>Pennisetum americanum</i>) | Rajra, Gantis | June-July | Oct.-Nov. | 294 |
| Maize (<i>Zea mays</i>) | Macca | June-July | Sept.-Oct. | 53 |
| Legumes | | | | |
| horse gram (<i>Dolichos biflorus</i> L.) | Kuthi, Koiatha | Oct.-Nov. | Jan.-Feb. | 166 |
| Black gram (<i>Vigna sinensis</i>) | Ran | Oct.-Nov. | March | 38 |
| Green gram (<i>Vigna radiata</i>) | Muga | June-July | Aug.-Sept. | 64 |
| Red gram (<i>Pisum sativum</i>) | Kandula | Aug.-Sept. | Jan.-Feb. | 126 |
| Oil seed | | | | |
| Niger (<i>Gn. zollia abyssinica</i>) | Aatshi | Sept.-Oct. | Feb.-March | 1.8 |
| Black mustard (<i>Brassica nigra</i>) | Sorise | Sept.-Oct. | Feb.-March | 7 |
| Groundnut (<i>Arachis hypogaea</i>) | Bhumchana | June-July | Feb.-March | 73 |
| Castor (<i>Ricinus communis</i>) | Jade | June-July | Dec.-March | - |

Table-2

Average yield (fresh weight) of vegetables under home garden (courtyard and backyard) in three Kandha villages of Kandhamal district of Orissa (Source: Dash & Mishra 2001)

| Name of the plant | Location / Oriya Name | Yield | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| | | Kg plant ⁻¹ | Mjha ⁻¹ yr ⁻¹ |
| <i>Carica papaya</i> (Papaya) | Amara Bhandra | 60.2 | 69.0 |
| <i>Cucurbita esculenta</i> (Edible amla) | Saru | 666.7 | 500.0 |
| <i>Cucurbita maxima</i> (Red pumpkin) | Bosi Kakhara | 73.3 | 128.3 |
| <i>Cucumis sativus</i> (Cucumber) | Kakudi | 3.9 | 2.1 |
| <i>Ipomoea batatas</i> (Sweet potato) | Kandamula | 366.7 | 2361.0 |
| <i>Lagenaria siceraria</i> (Bottle gourd) | Lau | 39.8 | 19.9 |
| <i>Luffa acutangula</i> (Kudged gourd) | Jhuni | 13.2 | 9.4 |
| <i>Capisiat areatum</i> (Chow) | Maricha | 206.0 | 206.7 |
| <i>Momordica charantia</i> (Bitter gourd) | Kalra | 20.2 | 75.2 |
| <i>Musa sapientum</i> (Plantain) | Kadali | 77.8 | 208.4 |
| <i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i> (French bean) | Bean | 13.1 | 4.1 |
| <i>Vigna unguiculata</i> subsp. <i>L. squiculata</i> (Cow pea) | Rudunga | 32.2 | 64.7 |
| <i>Vigna unguiculata</i> subsp. <i>Cylindrica</i> (Cow pea) | Baragadi, Barban | 32.2 | 64.7 |
| <i>Dioscorea alata</i> (Great yam) | Khamba Aju | 3.9 | 13.0 |
| <i>Solanum melongena</i> (Brinjal) | Raguna | 407.0 | 705.0 |
| <i>Trichosanthes arguta</i> (Snake gourd) | Chachadra | 0.6 | 0.5 |
| <i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> (Jack fruit) | Ponasa | 466.1 | 992.8 |
| <i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i> (Tomato) | Tamala | 440.0 | 422.4 |
| <i>Cucurbita domestica</i> (Tumac) | Haladi | 340.0 | 4967.4 |
| <i>Zingiber officinale</i> (Ginger) | Ada | 260.0 | 728.0 |
| <i>Labiab purpurea</i> (Carpet or Field bean) | Sinha, Bala | - | - |

Table-3

Horticultural plant coverage in the Chalikona area of Rayagada district of Orissa under the Kura Kandha Development Project (Source: Sahoo, 1992)

| Sl. No. | Plants under cultivation | Area (acres) |
|---------|---|--------------|
| 1 | Orange, Lemon and other citrus varieties | 1545.4 |
| 2 | Banana (different varieties) | 1547.5 |
| 3 | Mango (both in situ and grafts) | 1267.1 |
| 4 | Pine apple (Spanish and other varieties) | 1127.8 |
| 5 | Cashew nut | 510.1 |
| 6 | Mixed plantation (Banana and pineapple, citrus and pineapple, mango and pineapple, jackfruits and pineapple, banana with mango graft, banana with citrus plants and some other types) | 428.4 |
| 7 | Turmeric and ginger | 329.0 |
| 8 | Papaya | 140.9 |
| 9 | Sapota | 118.8 |
| 10 | Lemon | - |
| 11 | Jackfruit | 61.8 |
| 12 | Lichi, Guava, Blachi | 34.7 |

Table 4

Non Timber Forest Products used by the handlax as economic resources.

| Sl. No. | Name of the plant/product | Plant parts | Uses |
|---------|--|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 | Broom grass (<i>Aristida setacea</i>) | Inflorescence stalk | Broom |
| 2 | Bamboo (<i>Bambusa arundinacea</i>) | Young shoots Culm (Stem) | Vegetable (Karada) |
| 3 | Bamboo (<i>Dendrocalamus strictus</i>) | Stem | House construction |
| 4 | Belleric Myrobalan (<i>Terminalia bellerica</i>) | Fruit | Medicine |
| 5 | Chebulic Myrobalan (<i>Terminalia chebula</i>) | Fruit | Medicine |
| 6 | Hill broom (<i>Thysanolaena maxima</i>) | Inflorescence stalk | Soft broom |
| 7 | Indian gooseberry (<i>Emblica officinalis</i>) | Fruit | Medicine |
| 8 | Karanja (<i>Pongamia pinnata</i>) | Seed | Oil |
| 9 | Mohua (<i>Madhuca latifolia</i>) | Flower seed | Liquor preparation oil |
| 10 | Mushrooms (fresh) | Plant | Vegetable |
| 11 | Sel (<i>Shorea robusta</i>) | Leaf Seed | Plate and cup Oil |
| 12 | Sago plant (<i>Caryota urens</i>) | Sap | Soft drink & Liquor |
| 13 | Siah (<i>Bauhinia vahlii</i>) | Bark Leaves | Making ropes Cups (dana) and plates (Kudi) |
| 14 | Tamarind (<i>Tamarindus indica</i>) | Pulp | Food/Spice |
| 15 | Thatch grass (<i>Imperata cylindrical</i>) | Plant | Thatch |
| 16 | Thatch (<i>Bauhinia vahlii</i>) | Bark | Rope |
| 17 | Wild date palm (<i>Phoenix sylvestris</i>) | Leaf Sap | Mist Liquor |

Table 5

List of wild fruits and leafy vegetables consumed by the Kandham of Phulbari (Kandhamal) district Orissa.

| Sl. No. | Name of the Plant | Common/Local Name |
|---------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Aegle marmelos</i> | Bela |
| 2 | <i>Alangium salverfolium</i> | Ankula, Dhalaku |
| 3 | <i>Annona reticulata</i> | Buff's heart, Ramaphala, Neous |
| 4 | <i>Annona squamosa</i> | Custard apple, Nuphala, Ais |
| 5 | <i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> | Jack fruit, Pariasu |
| 6 | <i>Bauhinia purpurea</i> | Banda saga |
| 7 | <i>Diospyros melanocylon</i> | Pertimmon, Kendu |
| 8 | <i>Emblia officinalis</i> | Indian Gpposerry, Amla |
| 9 | <i>Feronia elephantum</i> | Wood apple, Kartha |
| 10 | <i>Ficus recemosa</i> | Dimin |
| 11 | <i>Ficourea indica</i> | Madagascar plum, Basocha kol |
| 12 | <i>Mangifera indica</i> | Mango, Ambu |
| 13 | <i>Phoenix hurehila</i> | Hill date palm, Khajuri koli |
| 14 | <i>Phoenix sylvestris</i> | Wild date palm, Khajur'ko? |
| 15 | <i>Semecarpus anacardium</i> | Marking nut, Kala bhana |
| 16 | <i>Syzygium cumini</i> | Java plum, Jambakoli |
| 17 | <i>Tamarindus indica</i> | Tamarind tree, Tentajitree |
| 18 | <i>Ziziphus mauritiana</i> | Common jujub, Barakoli tree |
| 19 | <i>Amaranthus viridis</i> | Kanta saga |
| 20 | <i>Ziziphus rugosa</i> | Tinkoli |
| 21 | <i>Cenosa argentea</i> | Quill grass, Gudugudia saga |
| 22 | <i>Cassiaea parviflora</i> | Totodi saga |
| 23 | <i>Marsilia cuneata</i> | Sansaua saga |
| 24 | <i>Glinus oppositifolius</i> | Pita saga |
| 25 | <i>Ipomoea batatas</i> | Kalam saga |

Table 6

Important medicinal plants used by the kandhas of Orissa

| Sl. No. | Name of the plant | Location/Village Name | Parts used | Disease(s) against which used |
|---------|---|-----------------------|-------------|--|
| 1 | <i>Abrus precatorius</i> | Indra Marsh | Seed | Eye diseases |
| 2 | <i>Acatypha indica</i> | Indra Marsh | Leaf | Constipation |
| 3 | <i>Actyanthus aspera</i> | Apamarga | Root | Mouth infection |
| 4 | <i>Andropogon paniculatus</i> | Bhurnon | Plant, Leaf | Gynecology & Sexual Diseases (Gyn & Sex) |
| 5 | <i>Abrus scholaris</i> | Rukai, Chhatana | Root | Skat disease Malaria |
| 6 | <i>Albizia scholaris</i> | Rukai, Chhatana | Bark, Stem | Fever |
| 7 | <i>Albizia scholaris</i> | Rukai, Chhatana | Root | Gyn & Sex diseases |
| 8 | <i>Albizia scholaris</i> | Rukai, Chhatana | Root | Urinary discharge, Extras bleeding |
| 9 | <i>Albizia scholaris</i> | Rukai, Chhatana | Root | Gyn & Sex diseases |
| 10 | <i>Albizia scholaris</i> | Rukai, Chhatana | Leaf | Ringsworm, Rheumatism, Scabies |
| 11 | <i>Bombus cerib</i> | Simali | Gum | Gyn. & Sex diseases |
| 12 | <i>Breynia vitis-idaea</i> | Jajhanti | Plant | Eye diseases |
| 13 | <i>Cassia tora</i> | Chakorda | Seeds | Gyn. & Sex diseases |
| 14 | <i>Calotropis gigantea</i> | Araki | Root | Stomach disorder |
| 15 | <i>Centella asiatica</i> | Thakurdi | Plant | Madness |
| 16 | <i>Curculigo orchioides</i> | Talmali | Root | Gyn. & Sex diseases |
| 17 | <i>Cuscuta reflexa</i> | Narmali | Plant | Enlarged spleen |
| 18 | <i>Datura fastosa</i> | Dadara | Root | Gyn & Sex diseases |
| 19 | <i>Eclipta prostrata</i> | Kesadara | Leaf | Pimples, Boils |
| 20 | <i>Elephantopus scaber</i> | Mayurkhali | Root | Jaundice and liver dis. |
| 21 | <i>Gonosa sepeba</i> | Dadarfula | Root | Pimples in infants |
| 22 | <i>Hemidesmus indicus</i> | Sargadhi | Root | Abortion |
| 23 | <i>Justicia adhatoda</i> (<i>Adhatodavilana</i>) | Bosanga | Root | Gyn. & Sex diseases |
| 24 | <i>Mimosa pudica</i> | Lajkuli | Leaf | Cold & cough |
| 25 | <i>Nyctanthes arbor-tristis</i> | Harnigar | Root | Urinary diseases |
| 26 | <i>Pavetta indica</i> | Kulorchali | Leaf | Malaria |
| 27 | <i>Rauwolfia serpentina</i> | Patilgaruda | Leaf | Skin diseases |
| 28 | <i>Sida rhombifolia</i> | Brijramuli | Fruit | Gyn & Sex diseases |
| 29 | <i>Strychnos nuxvomica</i> | Kochila | Root | Snake & Scorpion bite |
| 30 | <i>Tachyarrhizum</i> | Dhruvkhali | Seed | Bile complaint in infants |
| 31 | <i>Vanda tessellata</i> | Nargundi | Seed | Pile |
| 32 | <i>Woodfordia fruticosa</i> | Dhruvkhali | Steam Bark | Skin diseases, Soaring ear, Acidity |
| 33 | <i>Yashtimadhu</i> | Dhruvkhali | Root | Cure sexual weakness |
| 34 | <i>Zingiber officinale</i> | Dhruvkhali | Plant | Outa |
| 35 | <i>Zingiber officinale</i> | Dhruvkhali | Plant | Uncontrollable |

Source: Dash (1992), Dash and Majhi (1999 A, B), Das & Majhi (1988)

Modern Drug Development Programme : Leads from Ethno-Phytotherapy as Precursors

M. Perinbam
N. K. Ghai

Abstract

Medicinal plants are becoming increasingly important as a potential force in the agricultural sector. Indian Materia Medica is very rich and a little over 38 % of total medicinal plants of the world are available in India. Out of the 2000 drugs that are employed to cure human diseases, only 10 % are of animal origin and nearly equal percentage from mineral origin. The bulk is from plant origin and the tropical countries with diversified floristic composition and traditional systems have a lot to contribute. The therapeutic values described in ancient scriptures and prescriptions practised in tribal communities and clues from indigenous systems are going to open new vistas in the discovery of new therapeutics, bioactive molecules. Consumer's preference for naturally occurring plant products screened against modern scientific technologies has revived the demand for tropical medicinal plants and biotechnology has become a useful tool to infuse desired characteristics in the plant system.

Introduction

The pharmaceutical industry is under constant pressure to discover, develop and deliver chemicals and biological entities for the treatment of various diseases. Natural products both from plant and animal origin have played and will also continue to play an important role in this process. People's dependence on plants for various remedies is well apparent from the fact that all the major systems of indigenous medications—Ayurveda, Unani, Siddha, Homeopathy, Amchi, Tibba, etc. are largely based on plants only. Tropical forest species have been fulfilling the medical needs of the people of tropics for millennia. Many medical practitioners working in pharmacology and/or pharmacognosy are well aware of the number of modern therapeutic agents that have been derived from tropical forest species. In fact over 50 % pharmaceutical products currently in use are plant derived and more than 75 % of them were discovered by obtaining clues from the traditional medicines. The best example is *Salvia alba*, which finds a prominent place in the medicinal history as it forms the botanical parent of aspirin. It grows in low-lying damp areas and along rivers in many countries. To treat inflammation, pain and fever people used the bark of this plant for centuries. In the 18th century this information was formally documented with the Royal Chemical Society and Chinese administration of extract on people having fever soon followed. At the end of 19th century developments in the German chemical industry led to the chemical and synthetic strategies for making today's aspirin based on the chemicals found in the bark. Bayer Chemical Company thus became the first to commercialise a synthetic drug based on an herbal remedy. This has remained as the largest selling drug of all time.

In the same way *Cinchona caldasana* and *C. officinalis* bark extracts, which contain the anti-malarial drug Quinine have been known to healers in South America for hundreds of years. These plants have been extensively studied by Phytochemists leading to the identification of the active constituents. Quinine and its derivatives has become a major drug to fight malaria. Likewise *Digoxin laurata* and *D. purpurea* have been used by herbalists for a long time to treat heart problems. Today digoxin is the main component prescribed for the treatment of congestive heart failures.

Leads from Tribal Medical Practices

Plants and plant-based medicaments have been employed since times immemorial for prolonging life of man by combating various ailments. Ancient ethnic communities around the world had learnt to utilise their neighbourhood herbal wealth for curative as well as offensive purposes. Due to lack of literacy their knowledge of plants developed often at the cost of their dear life through centuries old experience could not be perfectly documented and it had rather descended from one generation to another as a domestic cultural heritage. As the ethnic groups migrated from place to place in search of their livelihood, their folkloric knowledge also became fragmented and travelled with them often with additions and deletions. These findings in course of time have become basic leads for chemical, pharmacological, clinical and biochemical investigations, which ultimately gave birth to drug discovery. The approach to new drug discovery involves a collection programme for medicinal plants with primary emphasis on the use of plants by the aboriginals in the tropical and sub-tropical regions of the world. This approach integrates a philosophy of looking plant leads that had already been proved effective in tribal societies where experiments were done on human beings directly. This in short goes under Ethnobotany.

Ethnobotany as coined by an American Economic Botanist, Harshberger (1986) is nothing but an anthropological approach of plants and plant products for human welfare. R. L. Shulies (1962) who gave a new direction to ethnobotanical research by spending a long uninterrupted years in the North West Amazon defines it as "the study of the relationship between people of primitive societies and their plant environment". Virtually it is a new field of research with unlimited potentiality and if investigated thoroughly is going to yield results of immense value for human and animal welfare. All traditional medical practices prevalent in various parts of the world had their roots in one way or other in tribal societies. Though several approaches to unravel the intricacies of ethnobotanical practices are envisaged, field recording of plant uses directly from the ethnic people and tribal healers has priority and most reliable. Scanning of field notes on the old Herbarium sheets and Museum specimens, critical observations and interpretation of the Archaeological sculptures of antiquity, data retrieval from ancient histories etc. are the other roots which have been found to be very effective and followed throughout the world with reasonable success.

A few Modern Dresses through Ethnic Lenses

[illegible]

Arabic inflicting leaves for curing a chronic disease of cheek bone that at Tamil Memorial Hospital, Bombay while *Amorphia cuneata* was found as potent promoters of a osteogenesis line of the recent discoveries and much talked about drug in the *Memor* developed by the Central Drug Research Institute, SRI, Lucknow, India from *Scorpa marmorata* Harben and being grown again from ancient practice and literature. Tamil from epiphytic plants if *Taraxacum* has revolutionized the natural product chemistry of the world for antiangiogenic properties. Other important species which are a lot of tribal uses are *Ephedra* *nilghiri* for Ephedrine therefore natural *Chenopodium purpureum* for Epigallocatechin *Punica granatum* for polyacetylenic anthelmintic, *Celastrus* *superba* for colchicine aculeatus *Phyllanthus* *acutus* for phytoanthin 10 phytoanthin etc. *Cassia angustifolia* for serotonins *Pistia* *stratiotes* for flavin *Phyllanthus* for coumarin *Cassipourea* for psychical *Artemisia* for serotonin etc.

Diabetes mellitus is a chronic hereditary disease from which millions of people are suffering all over the globe. A number of plants and plant products are mentioned as antidiabetic agents in Ayurvedic literature. Plants like *Mimosa charantia* L. (Kakara), *Gymnoschoenus sphaerocarpus* B. (Anardana), *Strychnos nuxvomica* L. (Jambur), *Pinnapora cardifolia* Willd. (Madhuk), *Lernaeodendron peltocarpus* L. f. *Pterocarpus maritimus* Roob etc. were not only described in Ayurveda at length for hypoglycaemic effect of the extract of the plants but were also discussed in Sanskrit system of medicine. These are now pursued seriously as active hormonal agents and hormonal secretinages. The plant kingdom undoubtedly affords many species with various virtues which deserve serious attention and constant screening for their possible better utilization. The primitive tribal practice is

fascinating area of research with more promise for modern drug development programme. As a result of sophisticated isolation and pharmacological testing procedures, many new drugs of plant origin have found their way into the modern medical world as purified substances rather than crude traditional preparations of yester years.

Wild Collections and Cultivation

Most of the drugs in being with, were collected from wild sources and as the demand increased with population proliferation, their availability from wild sources started slowly dwindling and finally reached a point where long term cultivation for sustainable supply of certain drugs like **Opium**, **Cinchona**, **Cocao**, **Poppy**, **Cardamoms**, **Galangal**, **Cinnamon**, **Peppercorn** etc. were cultivated from time immemorial as the wild sources were insufficient due to growing demand and sparse distribution in nature. For successful cultivation it is essential to study the conditions under which the plant flourishes in the wild state, the reproduction pattern, climatic conditions like the rainfall, temperature, shade, length of day etc. and adaptive factors. They play a vital role and hence need to be standardised individually for each crop. Other factors like propagation techniques (seed or vegetative means), use of plant growth regulators (kinetics, auxins, gibberellins etc), nutritional requirements (farm yard manure, artificial fertilizers and micronutrients) etc., influence to a great extent on the quality and yield of the drug.

High-throughput Screening:

Modern approach to drug discovery includes random high-volume screening of thousands of chemical entities. These are generated from chemical libraries, combinatorial approaches and natural products, all of which feed into various test systems. The technological advances of robotics for high-throughput, random screening in the 1980's gives the industry an ability to handle a very large number of samples. This has stimulated a renaissance of activities in the areas of plant natural products, chemistry, pharmacognosy and ethnomedicine research. This approach includes the classic random collection of plants that are incorporated into the high-throughput screening programmes using a variety of mechanism-based assays with specific applications to numerous therapeutic areas. All positive hits are subjected to an initial *in vitro* evaluation. This methodology requiring screening of tens of thousands of natural products and chemical entities is well suited to the drug discovery.

Role of Tribal Healers for Methodology

The process of plant collection requires to be conceived by assessing areas, which might yield opportunities for collaboration with local traditional healers. The team should invariably consist of an ethnobotanist/taxonomist, a physician and a natural product chemist in order to make the approach complete. Sufficient time needs to be spent with the tribal healers to understand their ways, their approaches and applications. Care should be taken to record the craft of the healer, selection and harvesting of plants parts and the way the healer prepares it. This crucial phase helps to replicate in-house extraction activities. The extracts need to be prepared

resembling those of the traditional healers and the preparations, by and large, are water based only. Audio and video coverage and the utility of an interpreter who knows the tribal language are the other basic requirements for conducting successful ethnobotanical surveys.

'In Vivo' activity

The next step in the drug discovery process is to bring the plant samples to the laboratory and confirm the pharmaceutical activity using an animal model that closely simulates the human disease for which the plant was selected. Using an *in vivo* testing approach, it is possible to identify active lead extracts and compounds for several important diseases in humans. This approach enables us efficiently find active pre-clinical candidates that are selected for target diseases. The most promising plant leads are then subjected to *in vivo* guided fractionation campaigns, whereby natural product chemists use state-of-the-art chemical separation techniques to isolate the chemical entity responsible for the observed activity from the inactive components. Modern spectroscopic techniques are then used to elucidate the chemical structure of the active compound.

Development of actives

To date, several classes of compounds have been isolated and their structures determined. Medicinal chemistry and synthetic efforts support these natural product leads in the event that the isolated natural product is available in a low yield and/or the plant source is not amenable to sustainable harvesting. In this situation, wherever feasible, a synthetic approach to the natural product is considered. An equally important medicinal chemistry mission is to use the isolated natural product as a template for further structural modifications to reduce toxicity and/or improve potency. As a result of this process, new chemical leads can be generated from the initial orally active natural product leads.

Post Harvest Technology

Care is taken at every stage before the drug is finally sent to the market and its acceptability depends on its morphological nature, constituents, the geographical source, time of harvest, processing, drying, storage etc. Maintaining the voucher specimens and preservation of the crude drug for posterity are the other basic things that require special attention.

Collection:

Collection of drug either from wild origin or from cultivated source is a special subject by itself. Some like *Ipecacuanha* can be collected even by unskilled workers whereas skilled personnel are needed for collecting *Belladonna*, *Digitalis*, *Cinchona* etc. The season at which the drug is collected is rated as a matter of considerable importance since the amount and the nature of constituents is not constant throughout the year. Collection of *Ephedra*, *Rhubarb*, *Aconite*, *Podophyllum* etc. are the best examples that clear away many of the doubts. Antisquamous derivatives will be completely absent in the drug if *Rhubarb* is

collected in winter but they will be rich if collected during warmer weather and this is due to conversion of anethanols present in the plant into anthraquinones by oxidation. Age of the plant also plays a vital role as it governs not only the total quantity of active constituents produced but also the relative proportions of its components of the active mixture. There is an increasing evidence even in the same plant, that the composition of secondary metabolites vary appreciably even in a 24 hour cycle. Collection is prohibited if the drug is covered by dew or rain. Discoloured samples and those attacked by insects or slugs should be rejected. Leaf samples are advised to be collected just before the flower primordia begin to appear and flower samples before they are fully expanded. Underground organs are to be picked up immediately after the disappearance of asexual parts.

Drying

Shade drying or slow drying at moderate temperatures are recommended for a majority of samples where enzymatic activity needs to be preserved and the duration of drying varies from few hours to many weeks and also differs from plant to plant. Where enzymatic activity is not desired, other types of drying like open-air spreading or artificial heating can be followed which are comparatively quick and rapid. Enzymatic activity needs to be retained in the case of vanilla pods, cocoa seeds, ginseng roots etc. Drugs holding volatile oils are either required to be dried immediately or oil distilled immediately after collection. Open-air drying is used for cloves, cardamoms, cinnamon, colocynthis etc. During shade or slow drying, it is advisable to bundle the drug samples and suspend them from the roof or thread and hung from the top. For leaves, flowers, fruits and seeds may drying is recommended. As a general rule, leaves, flowers and whole herbs need to be dried between 20°-35° C and roots and barks between 30°-60° C. How far the drying is to be carried out is a matter of practical experience and is plant specific. If over dried, the samples not only lose their activity but also become brittle and break in the transit.

Garbling

Garbling is the final step in the preparation of a drug. It involves removal of extraneous matter (i.e. other parts of the plant body inadvertently entered in the collection during sampling) dirt, adulterants etc. In some, for example, the leaves should be freed from extra stem pieces. And in aconite, the above ground stems and stem bases should be removed from tubers. The underground parts like rhizomes, tubers, bulbs, roots etc. should be washed thoroughly and made free from sand particles.

Storage and Preservation:

Long storage although often unavoidable is not to be recommended as most of the drugs deteriorate even though carefully stored. The conventional storage containers-sacks, bales, wooden cases, card board boxes, paper bags etc. absorb about 10-12 % of moisture which in turn might spoil the drug and hence these are to be periodically checked and dried. Permissible limits of moisture values are different drugs and these are to be maintained as per the pharmacopoeia.

prescriptions. Drugs such as *Digitalis* should never be allowed to become air-dry as they lose their activity to a greater extent. They are to be preserved in sealed containers with a desiccating agent. For larger quantities, the bottom case may be filled with quick-lime separated from the drug by a perforated grid. Volatile oils should be stored in cool and dark places in sealed containers.

Insect and Pest Treatments.

Drugs are liable to be attacked by insects (beetles and moths), arachnids (mites), fungi and bacteria. Prevention is always better than cure and it is advisable to throw away wormy infected drugs as soon as they are detected. Periodic cleaning of drug storing warehouses, good ventilation, maintaining adequate space between different consignments and temperature regulation invariably yield good results. When infestation is noticed fumigation with ethylene oxide or spraying and dusting with insecticides should be undertaken so as to make the drugs free from insects and pests. Continuous low temperature (at 15° C.) inside a storage room or y checks insect attacks but also gradually kills eggs, larvae and insects. Ionising radiations from ⁶⁰Co in small doses inhibit the reproductive ability of mites but in larger doses destroy both mites and their eggs.

Intellectual Property Rights—Reciprocal Benefits

Many modern medicines are plant based, but the origins of these pharmaceutical agents and their relationship to the knowledge of the indigenous people is usually omitted. The idea of compensating the tribal people for the use of their knowledge should be based on fairness and equity. A logical means of compensating tribal people for their role in the drug discovery process would be to accord them a share of the profits from the drug, once it is commercialised. However, because of the long period of time needed for commercial drug discovery and development, such a mechanism for reciprocity requires a long waiting period before any benefit is realised by the tribal people. Further more, in most instances the tribal knowledge may not lead to a commercial product and thus no benefit of any kind would come to the indigenous people.

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